AUTHENTIC CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

M. LE BRUN,

THE

FRENCH MINISTER,

AND OTHERS,

TO

FEBRUARY 1793, INCLUSIVE,

PUBLISHED AS

AN APPENDIX

TO

OTHER MATTER NOT LESS IMPORTANT;

WITH A

PREFACE,

AND

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is entreated as a favour, that before any concluſion is drawn reſpecting the principles or the motives which decided the author of the following pages to deliver his ſentiments and ſtatement of facts to the world, at this eventful moment, that the whole may be attentively read, and impartially conſidered. It is his wiſh to avoid being miſunderſtood or miſrepreſented; and where his ſeverity has been provoked by the fact, he truſts it will be pardoned in conſideration of the motive.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE,

ADDRESSED TO MY DAUGHTER.

I UNDERSTAND it to be an invariable rule with mercantile men, before they retire from buſineſs, to wind up their accounts with the world, that nothing may break in upon their quiet, after they have exchanged trade, and the Royal Exchange, for lawns, fiſh-ponds, and ſerpentine walks; having never made a trade of ſcribbling, or of patriotiſm; having never offered my pen to ſale, either to miniſters or to their opponents, or pretended a regard for the freedom and happineſs of mankind which I did not ſincerely wiſh them to enjoy; as I never engaged in any cauſe but from the fulleſt conviction of its juſtice, I have no great account to ſettle with the world—I owe nothing more to mankind than that urbanity which they reciprocally owe to each other, and which I am ready to pay in much larger proportions than I have of late been accuſtomed to receive; yet, little as the account is, it is juſt that it ſhould be ſettled before I ſeek,

in the more rational charms of retirement, that enjoyment which the riot of public affairs, and the ruinous diſſipations of the age, peremptorily refuſe to thoſe who engage in them. As you have ever been the object of my fondeſt ſolicitude (and it is at once my conſolation and my boaſt, that my ſolicitude has been ſo worthily beſtowed); as you have been the conſtant and affectionate companion of my fortunes; as we have rambled together over a conſiderable part of Europe, and been joint ſpectators of thoſe vaſt and aſtoniſhing changes which have defaced thoſe countries moſt, in which we enjoyed the moſt felicity, I feel a kind of melancholy pleaſure in bringing back to your remembrance the recollection of paſt and happier times! You well know, that the ſociety of a well-ſelected few has ever had a decided preference in my eſtimation to that of the many, and that a reſidence in the country has ever been the favourite wiſh of my heart. Far from being an old man, and with a ſufficient flow of animal ſpirits to enable me to engage in the tumultuous ſcenes of faſhionable pleaſures, I prefer even ſolitude to a crowd, and have long cheriſhed the idea of a retreat from its buſtle. Thirteen years are elapſed ſince I formed and realized the ſame project; but it was my misfortune, perhaps yours, for our fortunes cling together, to ſelect for my reſidence

dence the dominions of a prince, whoſe vexations were as injudicious in point of time, as they were certainly iniquitous in point of equity and right.—I do not wiſh to ſpeak with aſperity of crowned heads; on the contrary, it is very much my wiſh to reſpect them; but this can no longer be done than while they reſpect themſelves.

To talk of homage to crowns and coronets, when they only decorate crimes or imbecility, is an affront to the underſtanding, and implies great ignorance or greater ſervility.—My loyalty is not of that ſtamp.—It is limited like my faith, and reaſon muſt mark the boundary: the only boundary that ſecures us from the inroads of civil or eccleſiaſtical tyranny.

The precipitate and ill-adviſed meaſures of Joſeph the Second could not fail rendering the Revolution in America an intereſting and inſtructive leſſon to his diſſatisfied ſubjects, and on our arrival in the Low Countries, in January 1783, I found it had already become an object of ſtudy, as well as admiration, and very likely to become an example of ſucceſsful imitation in the Netherlands, if the Emperor, blind to his own intereſt, perſevered in vexing the people with experiments which varied on the arrival of

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each courier from Vienna, * and which deprived them of all hope of reſpite from the wild vagaries of a mind diſtempered beyond the lunacy of Bedlam. Experiments in government are at all times extremely hazardous, and require not only a perfect knowledge of human nature, and of the various complicated intereſts, that are knit and interwoven in the very frame and texture of civil ſociety, but a well-digeſted knowledge of its relative intereſts, and the whole minutiæ of its intercourſe with foreign nations, conducted with great diſcretion,

* Many a morning was conſumed during the whole period of a reign, ſhort, melancholy, and inglorious, in writing edicts, many of which never came into exiſtence or even reached the knowledge of a third perſon. The ſketching of ordinances and regulations for every department in his widely extended dominions, occupied no inconſiderable portion of Imperial time.--- No clerk in office could have laboured more aſſiduouſly at his deſk, than the emperor at his table. Sometimes in his palace, ſometimes at General Lacy's, where he was accuſtomed to go, and whom he principally conſulted. If a ſtranger had entered the apartment, it would have been the General to whom they would have reſpectfully bowed, as the ſovereign of a great empire. Indolently reclining in an eaſy chair, with his two feet thruſt almoſt into the fire, this veteran occupied one ſide of the table while his royal maſter, with indefatigable induſtry, ſcribbled edicts at the other. Theſe were inſtantly ſubmitted to the inſpection of the General, and many of them without ceremony, and without ſaying a word, were almoſt as inſtantly deſtroyed.---It would have been fortunate for the ſovereign and the people, perhaps, if the whole had been thrown into the fire.

and

and ariſing from the circumſtances of the moment, rather than from a wanton and childiſh impatience to exerciſe a power delegated for purpoſes very different, than to enable the poſſeſſor to make baubles and playthings of mens' patience, intereſts, and happineſs.

Amidſt the many errors of a brain diſorganiſed by the multitude of its projects, the moſt fatal to the credit of the Emperor's underſtanding, was that of expecting a tree to bear fruit before it was planted, and to this fatal error may be attributed all the devaſtations with which a country, for the moſt part a garden in appearance, and in fact, an unexplored mine, has unhappily been afflicted. As I foreſaw, ſo it has happened, and if my correſpondence has been thought worth preſerving by thoſe who ſolicited it, and who were bound by their ſituations, as well as from the circumſtance of having requeſted it, to have reſpected it, they will find it predicted in the ſummer of 1787, that *the Auſtrian Netherlands and Principality of Liege would ultimately fall under the dominion of France*; *that the Britiſh Channel, in the event of ſuch a revolution, would loſe its name*; *that the enemy, poſſeſſed of Breſt at the weſt end, and of the Scheldt at the eaſt end, the moſt ſerious conſequences would inevitably follow from ſuch an extent of ſea coaſt, and the acquiſition of ſo rich a territory, and of ſo much*

much population to the maritime force and trade of Great Britain." It was at that epocha that I conceived the project of preventing ſo great a calamity by giving independence to the Leige Country, and the Auſtrian Netherlands, without the intervention of France, from a conviction that as ſuch an event was more than probable it was the intereſt of Great Britain, that they ſhould owe their emancipation to her generous interference, rather than to the intrigues of the Court of Verſailles. A very favourable opportunity preſents itſelf in the Autumn of the very year that I took the liberty to ſuggeſt it; but a much better occaſion aroſe from the events that took place in the winter of 1789, when this great change might have been accompliſhed without the effuſion of blood, and this country have been benefited by a meaſure which, under the circumſtances that have ſince produced it, may become altogether as miſchievous, as in the former inſtance it would have been advantageous. The neighbourhood of five millions of people, induſtrious and rich in reſources, renders their friendſhip or enmity an object of importance. The former was offered to us in 1790.* The policy of our Court thought prudent to reject it, and I am much afraid that it did not ſuf-

* Vide Appendix. A.

ficiently

ficiently deliberate on the conſequences of refuſing it, at a moment when a powerful rival was a candidate for the ſame diſtinction, and under circumſtances that ſhould have awakened us to reflection. This friendſhip, prodigally offered to us, has ſince been given to the nation with which we are at war, and who were ſtrenuous ſuitors at the above period for the union which we ſpurned. Time will prove how far that policy was founded in wiſdom or in indiſcretion. I appeal to the acknowledged candor of a nobleman (deſervedly beloved by all thoſe who have the felicity of his acquaintance, for the urbanity of his manners) to do juſtice to the well-intentioned zeal with which I ſupported the meaſure, I was authoriſed to propoſe early in February 1790, when I entered fully into the detail of the many political and commercial advantages likely to ariſe from declaring the independence of the Low Countries, and the Principality of Liege, under the guarantee of Great Britain, Pruſſia, and Holland. It was through the channel of his department alone that the offer could with propriety be ſubmitted to the Cabinet, and there my miſſion ended. I truſt it will not be deemed a breach of confidence, when I ſtate that his Grace was decidedly of a very different opinion to the one I entertained at the time, and in which I have been confirmed by every ſubſequent event

that

that relates either to the Auſtrian Netherlands, or to the war, which I am fully perſuaded would not have happened, if this country had cheerfully accelerated a meaſure that was tendered to them for acceptance, and to which it will be compelled to aſſent, for it has no longer an alternative. We ſhall then, perhaps, be enabled to eſtimate what we might have gained, by what we ſhall moſt probably loſe. The very ſincere perſonal reſpect that I have for the character of the Duke of Leeds will ever make me regret that I ſhould have differed in opinion with his Grace, who thought that the Auſtrian Netherlands ought not to be taken from under the dominions of the Emperor. But connecting my opinion (no otherwiſe important or worthy of notice) than as it is connected with the higher objects of national honour and proſperity, I feel conſoled for the diſappointment, by the events that have ſince juſtified that opinion, and which events might have been foreſeen and guarded againſt. Connecting the Revolution in the Low Countries with the happineſs and freedom of five millions of people, whoſe intereſts and repoſe ought certainly to have counted for ſomething in the cabinet of princes. I cannot but rejoice in their complete emancipation from the tyranny of the Houſe of Auſtria, and the no leſs vexatious tyranny of the Imperial tribunals.

If

If the Duke of Leeds ſpoke the language of the Cabinet, when he honoured me with an interview, in 1790, I will take upon me to affirm, from authentic papers in my poſſeſſion, that it was under a deluſion, which has very materially and very deeply affected the power and commercial intereſts of the country; and this deluſion is the more extraordinary, as the Miniſter had been appriſed in time of the little dependence to be placed in the good faith of the King of Pruſſia, or that of his miniſters, who were neceſſitous adventurers *(parvenus)*, to the full as deſtitute of principle as their maſter, and as venal as he was faithleſs. At this epoch (1790) it was the declared policy of this court that the Low Countries ſhould be reſtored to the Houſe of Auſtria, and it was at this epoch that the King of Pruſſia, that ſtain and diſhonour to royalty! acting or *pretending* to act in concert with the Britiſh Cabinet, was avowedly of a different opinion.

He had been called upon, as one of the co-directors of the Circle of Weſtphalia, to furniſh his quota of troops for the purpoſe of enforcing a decree of Wetzlaar, * to which the Liegeois had

* It will be neceſſary to inform thoſe who are not acquainted with the conſtitutions of the Germanic Empire, that each Circle has three directors, to whom the Imperial Cham-

had refuſed obedience. In compliance with this requiſition a Pruſſian army entered Liege. The conduct of the Court of Berlin towards the people of that country, the perfidy of its ſovereign, and the venality of his miniſters and agents in that tranſaction, I have in reſerve for

ber at Wetzlaar, or the Aulic Council at Vienna, addreſs their requiſition for troops, whenever it becomes neceſſary to enforce, by military execution, an obedience to their decrees. After a reviſion there is no appeal from either of theſe tribunals; and whenever prince or people are refractory an army is directed to march and coerce them into ſubmiſſion, the whole expences of which are levied on the offending party, and in a manner to make them repent the conſequences of their reſiſtance. It was for this purpoſe that a body of Pruſſians, under the command of General Schlieffen, and ſtrong enough to controul thoſe ſent by the other directors with the ſame intent, marched to Liege, and pretending to eſpouſe the cauſe of the revolters, delayed the execution of the decree until the political objects of the Court of Berlin were accompliſhed. I cannot immediately find the particular paper, reſpecting the arrival of M. de Schlieffen at Liege from Maeſtricht, where a fractured leg had detained him; but I believe his army conſiſted of about ſeven thouſand men, who made a point of treating with marked contempt the Palatine troops, and ſhewing an abhorrence for the miſſion on which they were jointly employed. They even allowed of hoſtilities between theſe troops and the patriots of Liege without interfering, and partook of the triumphs of the latter. After this farce had been played as long as it ſuited the convenience of his Pruſſian Majeſty, his army was ordered to withdraw, and the deluded people of Liege, abandoned to their fate, were delivered over to their mercileſs perſecutors, to be a ſecond time pillaged and ſcourged for a reſiſtance founded in juſtice.

a future

a future day. I was on the ſpot at the time, and from my intimacy with thoſe who were the victims of his matchleſs duplicity, I had acceſs to all the papers and voluminous correſpondence on that occaſion, and can well appreciate the character of a man, whoſe guilt and treachery, more than infernal, would make the devil change colour and appear white. Would to heaven that I could puniſh them as well! The approach of an army ſo near to the frontiers of Brabant and France, excited alarm in the former, and jealouſy in the latter. The oſtenſible reaſon of its march was in a great meaſure contradicted by the protection publicly given by the Pruſſian general and miniſters to the offending party at Liege, and by the number of agents which the Court of Berlin employed at Bruxelles at the time. France could ill bear to ſee the lady, whom ſhe wooed with unremitting ardour, on the part of being wreſted from her by the intrigues of a ſovereign, with whom it would have been imprudent, at that time, to have quarrelled. The French had recourſe to cabal, and all Bruxelles reſounded with reports that the King of Pruſſia had a deſign upon the Low Countries, and meant to invade it. The known projects of Van Eupen and Vandernoot gave credit to theſe reports, and they, in their turn, excited ſuch clamours againſt the French, that

it became hazardous for them to ſpeak on public affairs. Thoſe who offered to ſerve in the patriot army were refuſed; and in order to diſcredit the reports in circulation, to the diſadvantage of the Court of Berlin, the agents in Brabant and Flanders were authorized to contradict them in the fulleſt manner.*

I have rapidly retraced ſome of theſe occurrences which forced me from the tranquillity of retirement into the vortex of public affairs; and in tracing them the memory involuntarily marſhals into form the whole ſeries of events in chronological order which have marked the full period of our reſidence on the continent.

This is but a gloomy occupation for a mind like mine. It is little elſe than rambling among tomb-ſtones, and reading of epitaphs; it is roving through an immenſe and dreary cemetery of departed friends, whoſe names ſtrike inceſſantly on my bewildered ſenſes, and ſubſtract much from the pleaſures of exiſtence; of friends, my dear child, who were once as we are, whoſe wild but inoffenſive pranks ſtand blazoned to my view, and whoſe merry jeſts, that ſet the table in a roar, ſtill vibrate on my deluded ear; when we have ſurvived thoſe with whom we

* Vide B in the Appendix.

have lived in the fondeſt intercourſe of mutual affection, who have been the partners of our tranſports and of our ſorrows, whom we have felt torn from our affectionate embrace, and whoſe full value can only be eſtimated by their loſs; it is then that life loſes one of its ſtrongeſt attractions, and that the mind, in its direful conflict, with unavailing grief, has full occaſion for all its vigour and exertion to fortify itſelf againſt deſpondency.

How hard is the lot of humanity! when our beſt refuge from deſpair, under the preſſure of the ſevereſt and moſt bitter of misfortunes, is that of ſtating our miſery againſt the miſery of others, in the poor and comfortleſs hope of finding our ſum of woe leſs than that of our neighbours! Combining what you know of my taſte, habits, and inclinations, with all theſe mournful reflections, in which my mind, become the aſſaſſin of its own tranquillity, delights to rove, you will not be ſurpriſed at my impatience to quit the metropolis for the country, and exchange activity for indolence. I want repoſe, and I am the more deſirous of the reſpite I crave, not only for the purpoſe of arranging a voluminous correſpondence, but that whenever my reſurrection into political life may be neceſſary, I may come forward, not only recruited with ſpirits, but prudence, and appear

a *new*

a *new man* to thoſe who thought the *old* one too warm and impetuous.

Whenever a man profits by what he reads, he has no right to complain of the price of the book. The memoirs of Mr. Gibbon, ſo dear to every body elſe, has been a very valuable purchaſe to me. I am a greater gainer by it than even Lord Sheffield, who, converting his friend into a mint, has coined three thouſand pounds from his droſs. The note at page 104. vol. 1. was of more value to me than the whole work. It completed the reformation I had long propoſed, by ſhewing me my own character moſt accurately drawn. There is to be ſure that in it which might make any man proud; but there is alſo that in it which muſt make every man bluſh. The mirror ſpoke truth; and aſhamed of my likeneſs, I reſolved to amend. It ſhall, therefore, be my care to check the intemperance of a mind that has hitherto been too warm in the purſuit of right ever to think of expediency; I will profit by the ſober council of thoſe who really wiſh well to me, and even profit by the malevolent impertinence of time-ſerving writers, with names or without, who would praiſe me, with the ſame facility that they have abuſed me, if they were paid for it. I am aware of the reproaches I may incur from both theſe deſcriptions

tions of writers by ſpeaking on my own ſubject; but the cuſtom of the theatre authoriſes the performer, on his taking leave of the ſtage, to ſpeak his farewell, and in my caſe it is become neceſſary to ſay ſomething in extenuation, at leaſt, if not in vindication of that warmth which has occaſionally marked my writings, and which has unfortunately been miſunderſtood by ſome, and as maliciouſly repreſented by others. This is the account that I have to ſettle with the world. When men are agreed as to the merit or demerit of others, the degree of admiration in which they hold the one, and of averſion in which they regard the latter, will depend, in a great meaſure, on the force and vivacity of their imaginations. Men, whoſe minds are ſtrong and ardent, will naturally expreſs themſelves with warmth, and if the matter appears to them enormous, with intemperance, in order to prevent the repetition of what they conceive to be crime, and crime, perhaps, of a very dangerous tendency. We are apt to expreſs as we feel, and this applies no leſs to the man, whoſe mind is cold and phlegmatic, than to the man who is animated and impatient. The one, conſtitutionally indifferent to conſequences, and regardleſs of poſterity, paſſes a cold unimpreſſive reproof that is more likely to encourage than to repreſs the vice it condemns. Both extremes are bad, but ſurely the former has

has a claim to indulgence in conſideration of the motive, and may poſſibly produce the deſired effect. It may put guilt to ſhame, and prevent the repetition of crimes; but the latter never can. In a word, I have, at all times, expreſſed the abhorrence that I have really felt, and my conduct has correſponded with my profeſſions. I have ever oppoſed, with all the ardour peculiar to my character, the doctrine of equality in the perverted and impracticable ſenſe given to it by bad men for very bad purpoſes; I never was an advocate for the promulgation of abſtract principles among a claſs of men, barely rational, and whoſe intellects are not likely to be improved by education; for where the mind wants comprehenſion, culture is uſeleſs; yet though it would be imprudent, and, perhaps, not very humane, to engage them in the inveſtigation of matters foreign to their purſuits, and certainly hoſtile to their intereſts and their happineſs, I cannot approve of that enormous diſproportion between animals of the ſame ſpecies; do not miſtake me—I do not wiſh to ſee the elephant deſtroyed, becauſe he conſumes more graſs than a ſheep; but I will ever ſtrenuouſly contend that the ſheep has an equal right to graze with the elephant, and as the earth is ſpacious enough to afford ſufficient paſture for both, why abridge the latter of his little portion? Let the peer and the peaſant vegetate and ambulate

bulate this globe happily and cheerily together, let them reſpect and not inſult each other, policy as well as humanity dictates this language; for when men are made to feel a difference of condition they are apt to reaſon on the cauſe, not with a view to acquieſcence, but to complaint and reſiſtance, beſides where the diſproportion* is in the extreme, it engenders vice; poverty is the parent of crime as well as of meanneſs, and hunger will ever cancel the obligations of morality: the laborious multitude are, *par état*, excluded from partaking of thoſe luxuries which grace the tables of the affluent, nor do they require ſuch expedients to ſharpen their appetites; but though they cannot reach, and perhaps do not deſire dainties, they ſhould not be forced to feel too ſenſibly the preſſure of want, for it muſt lead to conſequences, againſt which the wiſdom of government cannot too cautiouſly guard. Peaſants are not over-gifted with capacities any more than they are with fortune.

Beggars alike in intellect and purſe,
Purblind they ſeek their homely, happy courſe,
In rags and tatters, friendleſs and forlorn,
Objects at times of pity and of ſcorn;
From their hard toil the ſtate receives ſupport,
And e'en its ſafety in the laſt reſort;
In peace or war, the peaſant's ample aid,
In wealth or courage to the world's diſplay'd;

* Vide C in the Appendix.

By them the whole, the vaſt machine moves on,
And as the father toil'd, ſo toils the ſon;
Curſed with no foreſight,-ſenſeleſs of the paſt,
Unmoved they hear loud faction's impious blaſt;
Paſſive and dull, ſubmiſſive to each law,
And, yok'd like oxen to the team they draw.

I do not pretend to be a poet, but I am apt to ramble, truant like, ſometimes at the call of the muſes, and play at the foot of Parnaſſus without daring to climb the hill. No great violence is neceſſary to engage my mind from graver and more eſſential purſuits.—I anticipate the ſummons and obey it. There is certainly ſomething very bewitching in poetry. There is a melody in meaſured language that argues a correct ear. I would willingly perſuade myſelf that it argues a correct mind, and that a love of verſe is neceſſarily connected with a love of right; in my own inſtance I know it is, and that the latter has ever been my ſtimulus and guide in all the political tranſactions in which I have taken part; had the conſiderations of ſelf-intereſt influenced me at any period of my life, it is fair to preſume that my pen would have fetched as good a price in the market as that of others. I have ſeen the prodigality of former times. I ſaw a man, whoſe melancholy cataſtrophe forbids me to mention his name, placed by a corrupt miniſter at one of the revenue boards, for a publication, the object of which was to turn the arguments

ments of oppoſition into ridicule, by anticipation, a pamphlet that evidently tended to lower the legiſlature in the public opinion. If Lord North had preferred the dignity and honor of the Houſe of Commons to the preſervation of his place, he would not have rewarded, but puniſhed the profligacy of the writer who had dared to inſult the dignity of parliamentary debate. A miniſter's favor upon ſuch terms is too extravagant for me to aſpire to; it is a price that I cannot afford to give; it is a price to which no man will accede who knows the full value of reputation, and I have philoſophy enough not to regret what cannot be obtained without a ſurrender of that which is dearer to me than any thing in the gift of the crown. I am very far from inſinuating that the preſent miniſter expects any ſuch conceſſion, nor do I believe that he would be pleaſed to ſee that part of the Houſe of Commons which is the moſt hoſtile to him, filenced by means which have a tendency to leſſen in the remoteſt degree, that reſpect which is due to the whole. I do not believe that Mr. Pitt wiſhes to have the aid of any writer by any other line or meaſurement than that of the conſtitution, and his ſpeech on the debate laſt November, reſpecting the pamphlet of Mr. Reeves, is my voucher to the world for the juſtice of that opinion, even if I had no other evidence of the fact; but I have heard him hold the ſame lan-

guage, and profeſs the ſame principles in private. The two ſecretaries of the treaſury have invariably adhered to the ſame line of conduct in the different conferences that I have had with them; they have repeatedly declared it never was the wiſh of government, that any man ſhould ſupport its meaſures by a ſacrifice of principle, and I have every reaſon to believe, from the general tenor of their conduct, as far as I have been a ſpectator or concerned, that the practice they have obſerved, has correſponded with their profeſſions. I am not afraid in making this declaration, of being reproached with a ſervility, of which, it is well known, I am incapable. My zeal in ſupport of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration when he came into office, aroſe entirely from the ſtrong attachment I felt and ſtill feel for whatever is connected with the honour, proſperity, and independence of my country. My zeal aroſe from a conviction of his ſuperior talents and integrity, and that a permanent adminiſtration could alone at that epoch (1784) ſave the empire. We were then at a diſtance from our native ſhore, but diſtant or near, my country, you know, has ever been uppermoſt in my thoughts, and if I had entertained a different opinion of the miniſter, I ſhould, with the ſame ardor and freedom, have declared againſt him as I have declared for him. This may not perhaps be the language of a prudent man, yet I feel it to be that of an honeſt one,

and

and that contents me. When I could no longer approve of his meaſures I declined to ſupport them, and ſubſequent events have ſeparated us for ever.* I have no favor to expect from Mr. Pitt, I certainly will not aſk any; but as I am making up my account, not with the miniſter, for that has been cloſed ſince 1794, but with the world, it is a juſtice due to the rectitude and magnanimity of Mr. Pitt to acknowledge that he diſclaimed every wiſh to be ſupported but on conſtitutional principles.—On theſe principles alone I have ſupported him with more warmth than diſcretion I own, for among the many errors of my life, and indeed the principal one, is that of my eſpouſing with ardor whatever I undertake.

It is my misfortune to feel an intereſt as great as if my life was at ſtake in all queſtions of moment to the general happineſs of mankind, and under the dominion of a zeal which may have miſled my judgment, I may as frequently have given offence; but as the offence is in the intention more than in the act, I hope for the indulgence due to a mind very apt to take fire on beholding crime triumphant, and impatient when engaged in the purſuit of right. I feel this apology due as an atonement for my warmth, where my

* Vide D in the Appendix.

warmth

warmth has been imprudent or unjuſt. It has ever been my opinion that whatever is ſeriouſly miſchievous to the intereſts of ſociety, ought to be cenſured with the utmoſt ſeverity, and if I am wrong in this opinion, it is an error of the underſtanding, and not of the heart. Although I have lived much and mixed much with mankind—Although I have received much the ſame education, I am inclined to think that I have drawn very different concluſions from the precepts adminiſtered to us in early life, and that my principal error has been "d'en avoir pris chaque article trop à la lettre." Experience has taught me, that the profeſſions of men are not to be conſtrued, nor the productions of genius tranſlated literally; yet, though this latitude is perfectly juſt in the latter inſtance, I deny the utility of it in the former, and ſhould be ill diſpoſed to think favourably of thoſe, who would either exact or contend for it. My idea is, that men ſhould be what they profeſs themſelves to be. One moral for practice, and another for precept, is ſubverſive of all morals, and it is no leſs ſubverſive of morals, when the higher orders in ſociety brave the public opinion, and impudently diſpenſe with what they exact from others. In all the great moral duties of life, a perfect accordance ſhould prevail. If one man claims exemption, another has an equal right to diſpenſation. To prevent this irregularity, and its conſequences,

ſequences, princes ſhould be curbed as well as peaſants, and deeply impreſſed with this truth I have in ſome inſtances, perhaps, exceeded the limits of that temperance ſo convenient to the inſidious purſuits of bad men, and ſo acceptable to thoſe whoſe cold lethargic blood, drowſy almoſt to ſtagnation, paces ſlowly through their veins, and renders them alike incapable of intereſt or exertion.

I have no objection to make every reaſonable allowance for follies that are inoffenſive or unimportant. But the vice that impudently braves public juſtice, and exacts homage from virtue; that gigantic vice, which from the proud and inſulting pre-eminence of rank, has the audacity to ſet the magiſtrate and the laws at defiance, and that we know to be as incorrigible in its nature, as it is miſchievous in its conſequences—That deſcription of vice I will ever maintain ought to be felled to the ground by the club of Hercules. What! ſhall we court, fawn, and attend like a gentleman uſher upon vice in embroidery, while we loath, deteſt, and conſign to the gibbet, without pity or remorſe, the vice that we behold in rags? Shall the unhappy female, driven by neceſſity, not luſt, to the bitter and humiliating reſource of proſtitution, ſkulk in holes and corners, afraid of the beadle and his laſh, while the dignified proſtitute, more fortu-

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nate and infinitely atrocious, confident of protection, and honoured where ſhe ſhould be ſpurned, triumphs in her turpitude, and inſults neglected virtue with impunity? Shall the tame cuckold, proud of his diſhonour, turn bawd to his wife for favour or for hire, and lending her firſt to my lord, and then to his Highneſs, opening an account current with infamy, himſelf the meaneſt of the firm, dare to claim homage as his right; while the man, who from a ſenſe of public duty, holds out ſuch treble guilt to public ſcorn (anxious to ſave a falling empire from deſtruction) is branded as libellous or diſaffected? O, ſhameleſs, ruinous inconſiſtency! ſubverſive of all government as well as of all morals, and that cannot be defended even by thoſe who practiſe or applaud it. If, in defiance of decorum, duty, and public opinion, the titled harlot will play the wanton; if at her time of life ſhe will allow her hot blood to run riot in her veins, and ſcandalize her age and ſex, let the rank that ſhe unworthily holds in ſociety be deemed an aggravation of her infamy, and while an indignant world hails her ſtrumpet as ſhe paſſes, let her feel thoſe pangs which ſhe has baſely inflicted on virtuous innocence!

But of what avail, juſt Heaven! are truth, argument, and eloquence combined, againſt the

more powerful counteraction of ſelf-intereſt, habit, and the vitiated manners of the times!

If I ſhould be deemed reprehenſible for having expreſſed, in ſtrong language my abhorrence of offences, which, by their tendency to bring one part of the conſtitution into hazard, endanger the whole; if it ſhould be deemed criminal to have reprobated, with an indignation proportioned to the magnitude of that danger, the flagrant miſconduct of one deſcription of men, and the baſe ſervility of another, it is in vain for an obſcure unprotected individual like myſelf, to reſiſt the impetuous ruthleſs torrent, vice and virtue muſt have exchanged places, and I am content to ſhare the beggared fortunes of the latter!

BRITISH MUSEUM

ERRATA.

PREFACE.

Page vi Line 12 *read* preſented *for* preſents
—— viii —— 14 *read* dominion *for* dominions
—— xvii fifth line of the verſe *read* derives *for* receives

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

—— 1 —— 6 *for* or *read* of
—— 51 —— 9 *for* ability *read* inability
—— 53 —— 19 *for* counteract *read* contracted
—— 56 —— 12 *for* rights *read* right

REVIEW, &c.

—— 70 —— 8 *read* transferred it
—— 70 —— 15 *for* ſtain *read* tinge
—— 70 laſt line but one *read* remembered *for* remember
—— 76 —— 16 at the note, *read* are *for* is
—— 89 —— 10 *read* its *for* their
—— 91 —— 9 *for* perſon *read* friend

APPENDIX.

—— 60 *for* reducing government *read* to reduce
—— 70 *for* declaratant *read* declarant
—— 113 —— 4 from the bottom, *for* Pitt *read* Pit
—— 113 —— 9 from the top, *for* marches *read* démarches,—*et* dictées *pour* dicté
—— 113 —— 18 from do. *for* puiſſe *read* puit
—— 127 —— 3 from the bottom, *for* à porter *read* à porteé
—— 127 —— 2 from do. *for* ji *read* Je
—— 127 —— do. *for* ſuccinct et de leurs *read* ſuccincte de leurs
—— 128 —— 4 from the top, *for* nourrer *read* nourrir
—— 128 —— 7 from do. *for* paſture *read* paſteur
—— 128 —— 11 from do. *for* un raiſon *read* eu raiſon
—— 128 —— 22 from do. *for* qui *read* que
—— 129 —— 5 from the top, *for* Chatelain *read* Chretien
—— 129 —— 15 from do. *for* ſorteroit *read* ſortirait
—— 131 —— 14 from do. *for* tender *read* ſheer
—— 131 —— 22 from do. *for* ought *read* was
—— 132 —— 11 from do. *for* the limits, *read* the ſame limits
—— 132 —— 12 from do. *for as they have done* to the departments, *read* as to the departments.

The author of the following pages alſo requeſts the favour of his readers to pardon the numberleſs inaccuracies with which this publication abounds; it was produced in three weeks, and the neceſſity of perpetually referring to various manuſcript papers, which he has never had leiſure to arrange, and which could not be confided to the inſpection of others, joined to his anxiety to produce what he wiſhes to be conſidered as an epilogue to all his political labours, before the meeting of Parliament, are the beſt, and, indeed, only excuſes he has to offer for the incorreſt manner in which he has given this volume to the world.

PRELIMINARY

OBSERVATIONS.

IF men would reaſon from facts, and not from prejudice; if they would allow their judgments to take the lead of their paſſions, and in conſideration of thoſe who may come after them, combine the intereſts of poſterity with their own, they would learn to form a right eſtimate of things, and prevent the neceſſity of thoſe violent commotions, which arming the ſon againſt the father, and brother againſt brother, diſſolve all the endearing ties of friendſhip and affection, and plunge the civilized world into a ſtate of anarchy, infinitely more ſavage and deplorable than that of nature; but the mild dictates of reaſon, and the equitable ſuggeſtions of truth, appear to have little influence on the conduct of human affairs, and man, a phænomenon almoſt to his Creator, perpetually at variance with himſelf, and in conſtant hoſtility with his judgment and deareſt intereſts, ſeems deſtined by fate to

have what is at once a bleſſing and a curſe, perverted or abuſed without the reſolution to amend what is alternately his pride and ſhame, his happineſs and miſery! It is owing to this abuſe and perverſion of the underſtanding, that the progreſs of all governments has been arreſted in their courſe to that ſtate of perfection of which they are unqueſtionably ſuſceptible, whenever they ſhall be founded in principle, and conducted with equity. It is owing to the ſame cauſe that governments, in many inſtances, have been ſubverted and deſtroyed; and to this account may be placed the ſcandalous alacrity with which a conſiderable portion of mankind bend their pliant necks to the diſgraceful yoke of paſſion or of prejudice, and that a portion no leſs conſiderable, but far more abject, ſacrifice all that is noble or dignified in manhood, to the temporary purſuits of the moment, without any regard to the duty they owe to themſelves, or others, and in defiance of the odium, deriſion, and contempt which never fail to accompany their turpitude and meanneſs; but for this wide and dangerous departure from the fixed principles of right, the different civilized nations of the earth might look confidently forward to centuries of domeſtic peace and felicity. The legiſlator would be conſoled in his deſcent to the grave, by the reflection that his labours, leſs periſhable than himſelf, would not be deſtroyed, but meliorated

by

by time, and that each ſucceſſive generation, profiting by the errors of that which preceded it, would improve its inheritance, and bequeath a richer legacy to poſterity than it received. Such is the language of philoſophy and of truth! It is the unavailing proteſt which common ſenſe and common honeſty inceſſantly enter againſt the ruthleſs inconſiſtencies of men in all ages, to whom the public intereſt has been confided. Unhappily the few who have the virtue to ſpurn a ſubjection as ruinous as it is diſgraceful, are of too little account in ſociety to influence its deciſions or its deſtiny; neither their precepts nor example are of any avail. Their voice is too feeble to be heard, their power too trifling to be felt, and however much they may ſuffer from the deluſion, they muſt abide by the event. It is held to be an inſtance of piety and reſignation to ſubmit without repining to thoſe heavy calamities which are inſeparable from our nature; but it requires ſomething more than the paſſiveneſs of reſignation; it requires the combined efforts of religion and of heroiſm, to bear with fortitude and in ſilent ſubmiſſion the various calamities produced by the wild projects of men, whom fortune, not merit, has inveſted with the fate of nations, and whoſe career through life can only be traced by the deſolation they have occaſioned.

It is, however, a conſolation to the wounded mind, ſmarting under the double preſſure of private and public miſery, that though vanity and ambition, the impious rivals of Omnipotence! would faſhion us to their will; that though millions bleed at their fell command, and the beauty and harmony of the univerſe ſeem inverted as it were by their pernicious influence, that the ſuperintending vigilance of Heaven, in mercy to oppreſſed humanity, counteract their iniquitous deſigns, and defeat their foul projects, by the very means that are employed to obtain them! Every page in which the great conteſts of this world are recorded, preſents this awful, this inſtructive leſſon to mankind, but the ſtrong hold taken of their faculties by immediate purſuits, often trifling, ſometimes criminal, and as temporary as they are trifling and atrocious, renders them alike inſenſible and indifferent to future events. Every ſtruggle into which mankind at different periods have been forced by oppreſſion, (and hiſtory does not furniſh one ſolitary inſtance to the contrary) has finally terminated in favour of liberty, while tyranny, at all times a curſe and burthen to itſelf, every where humbled, defeated, and abaſhed, has never had a ſingle triumph to conſole itſelf with in misfortune or diſgrace, whenever the cauſe between deſpotiſm and freedom has been fairly brought to an iſſue.

What

What a misfortune it is, that thoſe well atteſted inſtances, ſo numerous in hiſtory, and ſo animating to thoſe, who, ſenſible of their rights, are ever ready to aſſert them, ſhould be of ſuch little benefit to thoſe who are the moſt intereſted in attending to the admonitions they convey! If the evidence of hiſtory, however, ſhould appear doubtful to ſome, and be denied by others; if the proofs which this country, "*the claſſic land of liberty*," (as the elder Mirabeau called it) exhibits of the fact ſhould be conteſted, we have the ſtronger and unequivocal teſtimony of experience to convince and guide us; an appeal may be made to events ſtill freſh in our memory, which belong to our own age and nation. An appeal may be made to events ſtill more recent, and which are perpetually occurring in the great and momentous ſtruggles in which France is actually engaged. They abundantly and moſt woefully demonſtrate thoſe truths which I would willingly bring home to every man's feeling and recollection, and moſt particularly to thoſe, whoſe immediate duty it is to preſerve the preſent order of things, whoſe particular intereſt and perſonal ſafety imperiouſly call on them to avoid whatever has a tendency to revive thoſe conteſts, which conſigned one ſovereign to the ſcaffold, and another to beggary and exile. The hiſtory of the laſt century contains many uſeful leſſons; leſſons that ought

to

to be ſtudied with a cloſe and unremitting attention, in conjunction with thoſe which preſs daily on our notice, and which may be conſidered as comments upon the texts of our anceſtors, differing, however, very materially from all other comments, inaſmuch as they are ſtronger, leſs prolix, and more concluſive than the texts they illuſtrate.

It is in the nature of man, in all tranſactions that relate perſonally to himſelf, to prefer certainty to riſk, and where he can only poſſeſs a life intereſt at the beſt, it is policy, as well as juſtice in the government he ſupports, to avoid whatever may endanger the ſecurity. Among the moſt valuable of our poſſeſſions may be reckoned that protection which he derives from equal laws faithfully adminiſtered, and whatever tends to weaken that protection, or to bring it into hazard, renders his property leſs valuable, and takes from the various felicities of domeſtic life, the better part of their attractions. The tenure by which they are held is precarious, indeed, whenever the government, weak or vexatious, diſturbs his enjoyments, or expoſes them to the inroads of civil tumult and wild uproar.

He expects (and is entitled to it, for it is one of the implied conditions of the ſocial compact) a better pledge for the peaceable enjoyment of all

all the comforts of his exiſtence, than the diſcretion of others; and when this cannot be aſſured to him, or when either guilt or imbecility in the executive power, excite diſtruſt, or provoke combinations among the people for the preſervation of their unalienable rights, his reſpect and attachment to a government no longer adequate to the purpoſes of its inſtitution, will ceaſe; his ſubmiſſion will be a matter of neceſſity rather than of choice; and his loyalty, deprived of all the wholeſome ſtamina produced by the invigorating influence of ſelf-intereſt, confidence, and affection, will become converted into a leaven of the moſt miſchievous quality. This is not the place, nor is it my intention at preſent, to inveſtigate the cauſes which led to the two great revolutions in the laſt century.

But that awful interval between the reſtoration of Charles, and the final expulſion of James; that interval which diſplayed a kind of watery ſunſhine proſperity on royalty for a moment; I mean that interval in which theſe miſguided princes, with a parliament at their devotion, vainly imagined they had cruſhed the proud ſpirit of liberty in Britain, and eſtabliſhed their arbitrary dominion throughout this glorious happy iſland, is perhaps of all periods in Britiſh hiſtory the moſt inſtructive to kings and miniſters.

niſters. It is a period that contains a world of uſeful, practical knowledge, and which I defy either prince or people to read with indifference, or without profit. The one will be taught to guard againſt the fallacy of appearances, and to behold irretrievable ruin to himſelf and family, at the very inſtant that a gaudy exterior announces the moſt perfect ſecurity around him. He will learn in the cataſtrophe of the laſt of the Stuarts, the very little protection that an abject venal parliament, and a mercenary army, can give him in the moment of general diſcontent, and learn to reſpect thoſe rights which he cannot infringe with impunity; while the people, no leſs inſtructed by events than their ſovereign, will diſcover in the conduct of their anceſtors, that a remedy for all the evils of deſpotiſm may be found in the reſources of courage and unanimity. Theſe truths, ſo intereſting at all times, are rendered ſtill more ſo by the circumſtances of the moment, nor can they fail to ſtrike moſt forcibly on the ſenſes of every man who reflects on what he reads, and who is not a careleſs obſerver of events. The misfortune is, that hiſtory makes but a feeble impreſſion on the human mind, and that even experience cannot teach men wiſdom: if they would avail themſelves of every advantage that hiſtory and experience offer to their acceptance, the ſum total of crimes, blunders, and misfortunes, which embitter their

exiſtence, and deſolate the world, would be diminiſhed, and our civil inſtitutions ultimately obtain that force and ſolidity which can alone enſure them a permanency; it is from the full conviction I feel, that in proportion as men acquire a perfect knowledge of their true intereſts, they will practiſe right, in preference to wrong, that I wiſh knowledge to be univerſally diffuſed, and the morality we practiſe to be in ſtrict conformity to the morality we profeſs. When ſuch an example is given to mankind, and they become every where inſtructed in what it moſt behoves them to know, the ſecurity they poſſeſs for the full enjoyment of all the comforts of their exiſtence in civilized ſociety, will be unqueſtionable, and the machine of government thus mounted and regulated will not require the turbulent remedy of revolutions to correct its abuſes or defects. The aphoriſm that mankind are happy in proportion as they are ignorant, is an error which every man's experience, if properly underſtood, muſt refute. It was the baſe expedient of an overbearing prieſthood, to obtain dominion over the mind, and hold it in eternal ſubjection. The film that obſcured the mental viſion of the bigot in the 15th century, was removed the very inſtant that our anceſtors, provoked by the exactions, and ſcandaliſed by the profligacy of churchmen, examined into the juſtice and legality of their pretenſions. Men

 are

are very apt to aſſert their rights whenever they underſtand them. Our deluſion in reſpect to eccleſiaſtical matters began to ſubſide at the period of the Reformation, but our advances to civil liberty are of a later date. They were neceſſarily poſtponed until the mind, emancipated from the thraldrom of monks, became capable of exerting its powers. It was not until the cloſe almoſt of the 17th century, that the ignorance and deluſion which envelopped our intellects in regard to civil liberty were diſſipated, and in part deſtroyed. The queſtion of political right has not yet been fully debated, and with reſpect to the improvements and farther diſcoveries to be made in the two other no leſs important objects, it may be ſufficient for the preſent to obſerve, that the motto ſtamped on the ſilver coin of Spain,* applies moſt forcibly to both of them. The mine that has been diſcovered, can always be explored. The proud boaſt is ours, of having given the firſt example of liberty and reform to the tardy nations of Europe, as it is alſo our affliction and regret, that when France, rouſed ſuddenly from her lethargy, ſtarted for the goal of freedom, ſhe ſhould have ran beyond it. I do not mean to inveſtigate the origin and progreſs of thoſe various commotions which finally produced that temperate and judicious mixture of

* Plus ultra.

royalty,

royalty, ariſtocracy, and democracy, of which our conſtitution is compoſed, and under which it is our happineſs to live; experience has demonſtrated it to be perfectly compatible with that high ſpirit of freedom which animated our gallant anceſtors to oppoſe the uſurpations, and to reſiſt the extravagant pretenſions of the baniſhed Stuarts.

But though it is ſuperfluous to recite what hiſtory has ſo faithfully recorded, it may anſwer many very uſeful purpoſes to obſerve, that any future inſurrection in this country could not poſſibly ariſe from the ſame cauſe, neither would it have the ſame object, or be marked by the ſame iſſue. The intereſting ſtruggles in the laſt century with Charles the Firſt, and his deluded offſpring, whoſe guilt or misfortune it was to believe, that "*Divinity doth hedge a King*," were merely for the purpoſe of preſcribing limits to undefined prerogative. In was, in fact, a conteſt between deſpotiſm and liberty, in which the latter was as it ought to be, and as I truſt it ever will be, triumphant! It was a matter of indifference to our anceſtors from what quarry the keyſtone was brought that bound the arch together; they felt no blind and ſuperſtitious attachment to perſons or to names, and the reflection that the means which placed the preſent family on the throne, placed them alſo in our hearts, is not

the leaſt glorious of the many advantages which his Majeſty happily derives from the errors of his predeceſſors, and the troubles in the laſt century. The quarrel of our anceſtors was not with monarchy, but with the monarch, whoſe pride they humbled, and whoſe delinquencies they puniſhed. Intricate as the navigation, and tempeſtuous as the ocean was, they did not wiſh to cut the rope and ſend the boat adrift; yet, though it was kept in tow, it was clearly their opinion that the veſſel in danger of ſhipwreck ſhould not be impeded in its perilous courſe, by a fruitleſs endeavour to preſerve what ought never to be put in competition with the cargo.

When princes become at once inſolent, oppreſſive, and incorrigible, they ſhould be degraded and diſmiſſed from a ſtation they are no longer worthy to occupy. It was not the office, but the man, that our gallant anceſtors diſliked; yet, though they had no averſion to the former, James the Second might have diſcovered in the cataſtrophe of his father, and in his own hapleſs deſtiny, that the ſceptre is held by no other tenure than opinion, and that it can always be withdrawn at the pleaſure of thoſe who beſtow it. The prerogatives of the crown being aſcertained in 1688, there is certainly no longer any danger to be apprehended from the power of the ſovereign. He muſt govern according to the known

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and eſtabliſhed laws of the land. The tyranny of an individual governing by his own arbitrary will, has no longer an exiſtence in this country; and as every ground of jealouſy in this reſpect has been effectually removed by the recogniſed limitations of the bill of rights; it will, perhaps, be inquired, what can poſſibly excite any commotions in theſe kingdoms of ſufficient magnitude to endanger the preſent order of things?—Thoſe who propoſe ſuch a queſtion have yet to learn, that diſturbances may ariſe in a ſtate from other cauſes than a wanton exertion of undefined authority. Whenever the preſſure of public taxes is ſtrongly felt, and ſeriouſly complained of by the middling and lower orders of ſociety, as humiliating, vexatious, and burdenſome;—whenever the expences of a country conſume the whole of its entire overſtrained revenue, and that theſe expences are known to be much greater than are neceſſary to defray the fair and honeſt purpoſes of government;—whenever it becomes a matter of public notoriety that a conſiderable portion of theſe expences is applied to anſwer the claims of venality, or to maintain uſeleſs eſtabliſhments which impoveriſh the ſtate, while they evidently tend to the corruption of private and public morals;—whenever truths are deemed criminal becauſe they are offenſive, and that well-intentioned admonitions to œconomy and reform, are received with ill-humour, and attributed

tributed to diſaffection ;—whenever government, deceived into a belief of its omnipotence, exacts an unqualified acquieſcence with its blunders and extortions as the criterion of loyalty, and improving upon the relentleſs barbarity of Procruſtes would ſtretch the people to the full meaſure of its rapacity or ambition on an iron bed of all dimenſions, every ſober and diſpaſſionate man will perceive with ſorrow and alarm, that a conduct ſo criminal or indiſcreet, muſt ultimately lead to revolt, and that a government commits ſuicide, and becomes its own aſſaſſin, whenever its vexations force the people into inſurrection. But when to this criminality, or rather indiſcretion, for I am unwilling to place to the account of guilt, what may have reſulted from folly or ignorance, a marked indifference is ſhewn by government to public and private morals, under the fallacious idea that a people become diſſolute and corrupt, will be attentive only to their pleaſures ; when the hazard table and the counting-houſe alternately poſſeſs the merchant or ſhop-keeper, and pimps, gamblers, and prize-fighters, become the aſſociates of peers and miniſters of ſtate ; — when every ſpecies of vicious diſſipation is connived at by magiſtrates, venal from principle as well as indigence, and who are more ſolicitous to receive the miſerable ſtipends that feed and clothe them, than to repreſs the profligacy that

muſt finally overwhelm them; the danger aſſumes a graver aſpect from its proximity, and cannot be guarded againſt with too much force or vigilance. If to the evils reſulting from a general depravity of manners, ſhould be added the painful and humiliating operation of taxes on the middle and lower orders of ſociety, combined with the ſcandalous indecorum of a man to whoſe fortunes they are to a certain degree attached, every intelligent and candid mind will confeſs, that theſe accumulated miſchiefs will lead as effectually to a revolution as the wildeſt efforts of the wildeſt deſpotiſm. I am very far from aſſerting that the morals of this country are arrived at that deplorable ſtate of licentious degradation which eradicates from the mind all ſenſe of private honour and public virtue, or that the taxes are become ſo intolerable to that part of the community which affords the beſt ſupport to government, and whoſe morals are the laſt to be infected by the taint of profligacy; but though the conduct of thoſe, who, bound by their high rank and ſplendid fortunes to give the beſt example, have unhappily given the worſt, has not yet reached that *ne plus ultra* in vice, which forbids all hope of reclamation or amendment, it has a manifeſt tendency to that ruinous point, and the progreſs has already been ſufficiently great to alarm even confidence itſelf. It is therefore pardonable, if not laudable, in thoſe who feel this

this conviction, and dread the effects of an obſtinate perſeverance in wrong, to exert their beſt efforts to arreſt, if poſſible, an evil of ſuch magnitude in its deſtructive courſe, and prevent an exploſion that muſt prove fatal to millions. It is with this view, and no other, that I have earneſtly beſeeched thoſe whoſe duty it is to ſuperintend the beſt and deareſt intereſts of ſociety, to examine with attention the ſtate of the country; nor can they be too often, or too forcibly reminded, that a nation without morals travels poſt haſte to deſtruction. Whoever is impreſſed with the importance of this fact, and anxious to avoid its application to this happy favoured iſland, muſt behold with infinite regret, that this truth, ſo woefully confirmed by the extinction of monarchy in France, has made no impreſſion on thoſe who are moſt intereſted, to take warning, and profit by the diſaſtrous event. It muſt ſurely be matter of equal ſorrow and ſurpriſe, that men to whom it offers a leſſon at once ſo terrible and inſtructive, ſhould remain inſenſible to their danger, amidſt "*the wreck of mat-*
"*ter and the cruſh of worlds!*" Is it that their ſenſes,

"*Duller than the fat weed*
"*That rots itſelf in eaſe on Lethe's wharf,*"

requires to be ſtruck upon with the force and vehemence of a ſledge hammer, to rouſe their ſluggard

ſluggard minds from a ſtupor as diſhonourable to themſelves, as it may eventually prove fatal to others? If, influenced by an education, either vicious or erroneous, and to which princes in all ages have owed their deſtruction, they ſhould count equally upon the virtue of forbearance, and the exertions of force; or, if diſdaining all medium, they ſhould prefer the deſperate remedy of ruined gameſters, and ſtaking the remainder of their fortunes on the caſt of a die, play double or quits, it may be an act of charity to attempt to reclaim them from a deluſion ſo fatal, by reminding them of the ſad deſtiny of the Bourbons, to whom Europe, vexed, haraſſed, and deſolated by their intrigues, follies, and infatuation, denies with almoſt one accord, aſylum or ſupport! The ſituation of France, at preſent, is preciſely the ſame as that of England in 1688. The ſole object of her revolution, like that of our's in the laſt century, was to curb and pinion tyranny; and all the great inſurrections in this country have been uniformly in favour of civil liberty; but if any ſerious tumult ſhould again occur amongſt us, it will be in favour of morals and œconomy. Its object will be to curb licentiouſneſs and prodigality, and to reſtore to the moſt valuable part of the community, thoſe comforts and that quiet which will have been wreſted from them by oppreſſive taxes, (the baneful effects of improvident councils) by

the exceſſive dearneſs of all the neceſſaries of life, and by the expenſive mode of living, countenanced by the example of the higher orders, and perhaps encouraged by the ſtate itſelf, with a view to render thoſe dependent from poverty, who might have reſiſted from virtue. The queſtion of what can ſhake the internal peace and quiet of this country, is of very wide and important extent, and well deſerves reflection. It involves in it a vaſt variety of very complicated matter, connected not only with the honour, proſperity, and independence of the empire, but with the domeſtic comfort and ſecurity of individuals.

It is a queſtion ſo intereſting at this moment, and of ſuch conſiderable magnitude to poſterity, that it behoves every man in theſe times of peril and univerſal alarm, to diſcuſs it fully and deliberately;—not in the tumult and wild uproar of popular aſſemblies; not in clubs and field meetings in the firſt inſtance, but in his cloſet, where the mind cannot be irritated, poiſoned, or inflamed by malice or miſrepreſentation; where it is free from every ſpecies of infection, uncontaminated by the gangrene of prejudice, and undiſturbed by the tempeſts of the paſſions; where it can reaſon and reflect at leiſure and in peace, and where alone it can expect to marſhal its ideas with accuracy, and decide with juſtice.

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The comprehenſive and well informed mind that goes into the cloſet thus fortified and prepared, with a view to reflect on the paſt, and meditate on the future deſtiny of nations, with ſufficient vigour to behold undiſmayed the vaſt changes that are in preparation, will find abundant exerciſe for all its faculties, and be ſtruck at the portentous revolution that has already taken place, not only in the different ſtates which have been forced out of their poſitions by the ſubverſion of the French monarchy, but in the minds of men; for that is the revolution which is the moſt formidable in its nature and in its conſequences, the progreſs of which it is the duty of miniſters to watch with all the vigilance that alarm and danger inſpire, and with that prudence and magnanimity which know when to yield without diſhonour, and when to reſiſt without defeat. Whoever examines the preſent ſtate of affairs on the continent, will perceive that the ſyſtem by which this country has hitherto conducted itſelf in its relations with foreign powers, muſt undergo a full and entire reviſion; and if the diſaſtrous events of the preſent conteſt ſhould happily convince us of the folly of ſubſidiſing foreign princes, we ſhall have the leſs reaſon to execrate the impudent fraud and perfidy of the King of Pruſſia, and ceaſe to lament a prodigality that has eventually taught us wiſdom and œconomy. Our inſular

ſituation exempts us from the neceſſity, and prudence ſhould preſerve us from the folly of ſubſidiſing foreign powers.

The hiſtory of the late, as well as the preſent war, proves the abſurdity and inutility of a ſyſtem which has anſwered no other purpoſe than to adminiſter to the pride, the avarice, or oſtentation of that claſs of beings who are the leaſt entitled to veneration and reſpect. Of men who hate and deſpiſe us, while they live by our bounty, or profit by our profuſion, and who (it may be ſaid, without much exaggeration,)

> Owe all their ſtate, their raiment, and their food,
> To the vile merchandiſe of human blood!

I do not mean to recommend the conduct of France as worthy of our imitation in every inſtance, but however diſguſting or miſchievous it has been at different periods of the war, it is due to her magnanimity to admire that courage and fortitude which enabled her to reſiſt, and finally to triumph over the moſt powerful confederacy that ever exiſted.

Thoſe who are diſpoſed to withhold their little tribute of well-merited applauſe, to ſuch wonderful exertions and perſeverance, have yet to learn that the juſtice which is exacted, loſes half its value, and the whole of the effect that ought to flow

ſlow from good example. France alone has not only reſiſted the combined force of Auſtria, Pruſſia, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Holland, a part of Germany, and Great Britain, but ſhe has compelled all her aſſailants, without exception, to ſue to her either directly or indirectly for peace. France has obtained all theſe triumphs without the aid of a ſingle ally, that was either diſpoſed, or had the ability to take part in the quarrel; and as France has fully demonſtrated by her unexampled achievements, the falſehood of treaties and the nonſenſe of alliances, it is to be hoped that adminiſtration will profit by the woeful but inſtructive leſſon they have received, and cloſe the account for ever with Landgraves and Electors. It is not, however, to a change of ſyſtem in regard to the continental powers that the miniſter muſt confine himſelf, the reform muſt be general, and extend to domeſtic as well as to foreign politics, if he wiſhes, which by the bye cannot well be doubted, to preſerve the peace of the country. When the deſtiny of millions is at ſtake, there is equal cruelty and guilt in having recourſe to fallacy; nor can it be too ſeriouſly lamented, that while one party holds out the moſt poſitive aſſurances of national proſperity, with the no leſs poſitive aſſurances of an happy iſſue to the conteſt in which we are engaged, that the other ſhould magnify each diſaſtrous event, however trifling and accidental, into an

irretrievable calamity, and aſſert that the reſources of the country are exhauſted, and that we have no refuge from bankruptcy and ruin, but in an immediate peace, however ſhort its duration, or degrading its condition. It is impoſſible to argue from either of theſe premiſes; they are neither of them founded in fact, nor does it redound to the credit of miniſters, or of their opponents, that they ſhould have departed ſo widely from truth, in order to diſcredit each other in the public opinion. The conſequences reſulting from declarations and ſtatements ſo diametrically oppoſite to each other, muſt not only be deluſion, but productive of much animoſity and ill humour; and if the object of that deluſion is to obtain the confidence of the people, the conduct of both parties is extremely reprehenſible, and cannot be too ſeverely cenſured; for if the oppoſition poſſeſſed that credit with the nation, which is due to men whoſe province it is to ſuperintend the executive power, much ſerious miſchief might reſult from ſtatements ſo directly contrary to each other, and particularly at a time when the force, magnitude, and proximity of the danger that threatens us, call loudly and imperiouſly for energy and union. Every reſpect is due to the rank, talents, and attainments of the noble Lord who has publiſhed a ſpeech in anſwer to that of the Marquis of Lanſdown. His means of information are certainly

tainly great, nor is it meant to queſtion the fidelity of his different ſtatements, when I aſſert that the application of them is not always fair, and that I am afraid his zeal has been greater than his diſcretion. There are alſo other conſiderations which cannot be unknown to his Lordſhip, that expoſe him to the ſuſpicion of having departed from the candor he profeſſes, and ought certainly to have obſerved. Every ſpecies of deluſion in the preſent ſituation of the country is wrong; it leads to a ſecurity that may prove fatal in the event, and to diſſemble under ſuch circumſtances is in fact treachery to the nation. The more honeſt part would be to come forward and own difficulties that are continually augmenting and cannot long be concealed. The more manly part would be to meet the danger, and not ſhun it by ſkulking behind venal majorities until an exploſion involves all parties in one common ruin.

It is almoſt impoſſible that Lord Auckland, with the ſtigma attached to his political character, ſhould be thought impartial, and the ſuſpicion is rather ſtrengthened than weakened by the publicity of his future expectations and his actual ſituation with the miniſter. The ſtatement given by his Lordſhip of the price of ſtocks in 1783 and 1796 is fallacious; the periods were neither exactly taken nor fairly ſelected.

At

At the former epoch the funds had experienced their loweſt ſtate of depreſſion, and unleſs his Lordſhip can aſſure us that they will not deſcend during the preſent conteſt below the price they bore at the latter period, it would have been more prudent to have been ſilent. It would alſo have been more candid to have aſſigned the true cauſe of the difference of price in 1783 and 1796: and as the cauſe is no ſecret, the concluſions he has drawn from the difference are the leſs excuſeable. The extreme attention which Mr. Pitt has invariably ſhewn to the trade and commerce of the country deſerves the higheſt commendation, and it is a juſtice due to his zeal and exertions to acknowledge, that his unremitting efforts to reſtore public credit were crowned with that ſucceſs which ought ever to await on great ability well directed. The comparative high price of our funds to what they were in the American war proceeds in a great meaſure from events which could not be foreſeen, and which were never expected. It is merely a caſualty on which a correct and intelligent ſtateſman would diſdain to reckon, and which a writer jealous of his reputation for ſagacity and rectitude would never have produced as an argument of national proſperity. This matter deſerves elucidation, and if Lord Auckland, in attempting to impoſe upon the country, ſhould really have impoſed upon the miniſter, it

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is an aggravation of his guilt that he ſhould have betrayed his friend and benefactor into an error, which, connected with other meaſures of government, may have a ſerious effect on the general intereſts of the country. It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that France and England were the two great powers whoſe credit ſtood higheſt in the eſtimation of foreign nations, and that they abſorbed a very conſiderable part of that ſuperfluous wealth which conſtantly overflowing from an immenſe and wide extended commerce, in an abundance that required other drains and reſervoirs than what trade could furniſh, was veſted in the public funds of both kingdoms at an intereſt far inferior to the profits ariſing from commerce in preference to the riſque and inconvenience of leaving theſe enormous ſums a uſeleſs ſtagnate maſs without circulation. Some idea may perhaps be formed of the faith of foreign nations in the French funds, and of the extent of their inveſtments, from the city of Geneva alone receiving the ſum of eighteen millions of livres annually from France as the intereſt due on its capital; the geographical poſition of France and her extenſive intercourſe with all the ſtates of Europe, joined to that politeneſs and urbanity of manners which marked all ranks and deſcriptions of people as completely as if they had iſſued from the ſame mint and been coined by the ſame dye, were ſtrong attractions, which, contraſted with

the leſs engaging and ſometimes uncouth as well as inſolent manners of this country, had every advantage that could be expected from more ſolid but leſs pleaſing qualities by which that confidence and preference were obtained, for politeneſs and affability, which the blunt rudeneſs of artleſs integrity had vainly imagined were due only to itſelf. At the concluſion of the late war a decided preference was given to the funds of France, and it became at that period a very ſerious object with the Court of Verſailles to impreſs all the ſtates of Europe with an idea that the bankruptcy of Great Britain was inevitable. * The government that had recourſe to an expedient ſo diſhonourable, in order to ruin a nation with which it was no longer in hoſtility, has been woefully puniſhed for its baſeneſs and perfidy, while thoſe who confided in the faith of ſuch aſſurances, have been beggared by their credulity.

Public credit in France was completely annihilated by the revolution, and to this event, as terrible in its conſequences as it was totally unforeſeen and unexpected, may be aſcribed in a great meaſure the preſent price of our funds. On the diſſolution of the French monarchy, dating it from the 14th July 1789, the ſuperfluous wealth of Europe flowed impetuouſly into this country, and thoſe who foreſaw that the tempeſt was

* Vide E in the Appendix.

was not at the higheſt in France, or who were perſonally alarmed for their own immediate ſafety, ſought an aſylum from tumult and danger, perhaps from juſtice, under the mild and equitable dominion of the Britiſh government. Theſe fugitives brought what property their fright enabled them to collect, and the ſums that were afterwards tranſmitted at different periods, until the war put an end to all amicable intercourſe between the two countries, have been very conſiderable. This is one of the cauſes that prevented our funds from feeling a depreſſion ſimilar to that which they experienced in the American war; but what has moſt contributed to keep up the price was the great influx of money not only from thoſe nations which formerly from ignorance, convenience, or political motives preferred the French funds to thoſe of England, but from thoſe powers which have alſo been drawn into the terrible vortex of the revolution. Lord Auckland is too well acquainted with the principles of trade not to know that the value of any commodity depends in a great meaſure upon the demand there may be for it in the market, no fair exception can be taken to his ſtatement of the preſent price of the funds, if he had properly accounted for it, and which was expected from his candor.—No man is better verſed in the principles of commerce than his Lordſhip, it would be illiberal as well as unjuſt to withhold from

him a tribute that is ſo unqueſtionably his due, nor can it be denied, that whenever he is candid and explicit in proportion to his talents and knowledge, his aſſertions become authorities from which it would argue ignorance or impertinence to appeal.—Lord Auckland muſt be ſenſible that the comparative high price of ſtocks is the effect of accident, the advantage of which to public credit can only be temporary, nor can he be ignorant, that whenever peace is happily reſtored to afflicted Europe, other confidences will ariſe, and other nations obtain a portion of that wealth which the unſettled ſtate of the continent, and the circumſtances of the times had conſigned for greater ſecurity to his country. This acknowledgment was expected from a man who profeſſed to be candid. His Lordſhip is yet to learn, perhaps, that it is diſreſpectful to leave off in the middle of a ſtory; he ſhould either finiſh, or not begin it: Lord Auckland in his diplomatic character may have found it neceſſary to deal in half truths and half ſentences. The policy of different nations in their tranſactions with each other may require ſuch precautions, but as they belong excluſively *au departement des affaires etrangères*, it is to the foreign office they ſhould be confined, and his Lordſhip will do well in future to leave them where he found them. When he acts miniſterially all reſponſibility is in a great degree removed,

moved, and he may claim indulgence even for a groſs indecorum of language, but in the preſent inſtance he has come forward, not in the character of an envoy compelled to ſpeak as he is inſtructed by thoſe who ſent him, but in the more dignified character of a Peer of parliament, as a legiſlator, by whom candor and truth (much better ſupporters to his arms than any he can obtain from the heralds) ſhould be prized as attributes. If any thing could render his obligation to reſpect them more ſacred, it is the circumſtance of his having come voluntarily forward, uninvited and unſolicited, for the avowed purpoſe of reproving a departure from them in others. When a man accuſes another of miſrepreſentation, it is doubly incumbent on him to be ſcrupulouſly exact himſelf, nor is it perfectly honeſt to miſlead us under the pretence of informing us. The Marquis of Lanſdown may have been wrong in his ſtatements, and admitting the fact, Lord Auckland was under the greater obligation to be accurate, when he aroſe for the avowed purpoſe of correcting the errors of his Lordſhip, and giving an example of candor. A fact that has been communicated to me relative to the price of land by a very old and intimate acquaintance, on whoſe veracity I can depend, would authoriſe a concluſion very different to that which his Lordſhip has drawn, if I were diſpoſed to avail myſelf of the advantage it affords

affords me. But it is not triumph that I ſeek—vanity and ambition never had at any period of my life any very ſtrong hold on my mind, and they have leſs now than ever.

In ſubmitting theſe facts and reflections to my country, I have no other object in view than to promote its intereſts according to my comprehenſion, or rather according to my conception of things, thoſe intereſts cannot be properly ſecured unleſs they are perfectly underſtood, and to impreſs the nation with an idea of proſperity and ſecurity at the very inſtant that an obſtinate perſeverance in error will ſpeedily and infallibly produce its deſtruction, is a fallacy of ſo dangerous and criminal a nature, that it ought to be inſtantly refuted and cannot be too ſeverely reprobated.

It was a ſimilar deluſion that finally conducted Louis the XVIth to the block, and his family to beggary.* There is in the ſad fate of that hapleſs

* It is a well-known fact, that the gentleman who arrived at Verſailles on the 14th of July, 1789, with an account of the deſtruction of the Baſtile, to whom fright gave ſpeed, was treated with marked contempt by the whole Court, and the information conſidered as too improbable to be true. All the thanks he received were, *ce n'eſt pas vrai*, Monſieur, which is tantamount to *you lie, Sir*. Such was their infatuation even when the game was up. I appeal to M. de Breteuil to ſay if this was not the fact.

monarch, and in the degradation of his bankrupt profligate court, volumes of wholesome instruction to kings, ministers, and people, and above all to those ruthless spendthrift princes, whose fall and extirpation, if they could fall ALONE, would neither excite pity nor regret! If however Lord Auckland has made the most of the documents to which he has had access, with no other view than to enliven and animate us to the most vigorous exertions in a contest the most perilous of any that have occurred since the days of Carthage, it is but fair to acknowledge, that the exaggeration loses all its criminality in consideration of its motive, and that it is at all events less mischievous in its immediate consequences than the statement of facts which, with an air of malicious triumph over the supposed incapacity of the minister, describes the country to be on the verge of inevitable destruction, sinking under the enormous pressure of accumulating difficulties, and no longer able to oppose an enemy with whom it is actually at war for all that is valuable or desirable in possession. If it is deserving of censure to hold out the prospect of better times to a people too apt to despond in adversity; if it is criminal to inspire them with hope, and excite them to fresh efforts in a war probably of life and death, with a people whose brilliant exploits are ill calculated to inspire them with sentiments of moderation, it is surely much

more

more criminal to encourage that deſpondency, and to unnerve that arm raiſed to defend itſelf in the moment of danger. What is this exaggerated account of our preſſures and misfortunes, but an invitation to the enemy to invade us, with a poſitive aſſurance of being able to accompliſh our utter extinction?

What is it, in fact, but to repreſent us bound hand and foot, weak, crippled, and debilitated, incapable of any farther reſiſtance, and ready to receive the law from a nation that erroneouſly imagines it is her intereſt to annihilate us? It is far from my intention to attribute any ſuch motive to the ingenious and elaborate author of "*Additional Facts.*" No man can eſtimate more highly or more ſincerely than I do, the very great abilities of Mr. Morgan; neither do I mean to undervalue the induſtry with which he has entered into the whole detail of our public debt. His arithmetical calculations do infinite credit to his genius and application; they prove that his mind, vigorous and comprehenſive, is profoundly verſed in the ſcience of finance, but notwithſtanding his unqueſtionable claim to the juſtice I have rendered to his talents and attainments, I cannot but think his pamphlet extremely injudicious and ill-timed, and that however correct his ſtatements may be, they are more likely to produce a bad effect than a good one.

I do

I do not perceive how it can poſſibly have any other operation. If credit is given to the melancholy picture drawn by Mr. Morgan of our internal ſituation, it muſt occaſion diſtruſt, alarm, and deſpondency at home, in the ſame proportion that it inſpires confidence, courage, and a ſpirit of enterprize abroad. If Mr. Morgan is ſincere in his wiſh for peace, and I have no reaſon to doubt it, the warmeſt of his admirers, and I claſs myſelf of the number, muſt confeſs that he has preciſely adopted the very means the moſt likely to prevent it, and by preventing it, he may poſſibly accelerate the very ruin that he predicts and laments. If the French confide in his ſtatements, it is not likely that they will enter into negotiations for peace on the only terms upon which one independent nation can treat with another.

If our ſtrength is finally exhauſted; if we are really arrived at that wretched ſtate of diſtreſs and debility which lead to bankruptcy and diſſolution—if the happy influence of peace, combined with the efforts of the moſt vigorous and rigid œconomy can alone reſcue us from impending ruin, it was ſurely imprudent to reveal a truth pregnant with ſuch important conſequence to our happineſs and independence, to thoſe who have it in their power to make a very terrible uſe of it. If the combined influence of peace and

œconomy can alone ſave us from perdition, it is not likely that France, appriſed of the fact, and bent on our deſtruction, will diſregard the information, or neglect an opportunity ſo favourable to her wiſhes. It is not likely that the power from whom we muſt abſolutely receive one of the means of ſalvation, and that thinks itſelf intereſted in our extinction, will neglect the occaſion our impotency offers to accompliſh our ruin.

I feel aſſured that Mr. Morgan was not aware when he publiſhed his Facts, of the miſchiefs they might produce. It certainly did not occur to him at the time that he was prolonging the calamities he deplores, and enſuring the calamity he would avert, by a ſtatement which the nearer it approaches to truth, the more criminal and direful its effects will be; what is it in fact but encouraging a nation, invincible almoſt from enthuſiaſm and animated by the ſplendor of her triumphs, to purſue with unabated vigor her career of unexampled glory, with the certainty of adding in the event the only country ſhe dreads, to the exhilarating catalogue of her rich trophies?

If the French are indiſpoſed to treat with us, the expoſure of our weakneſs and inſolvency is ill calculated to change that diſpoſition—their ſentiments

ſentiments are not likely to become pacific, while they believe us unequal to the proſecution of the conteſt, and as peace cannot be obtained without the mutual accord of both parties, whoever endeavours to prevent either of them from liſtening to reaſonable terms of accommodation is decidedly an enemy to both. I certainly do not conſider Mr. Morgan in this light, I acquit him of every ſuch deſign; but his writings will have that tendency in proportion to the credit they obtain in France, and to the degree of reſentment with which ſhe may be animated againſt us. It is not crime that I reproach Mr. Morgan with, but imprudence. If he is not criminal, he is indiſcreet, and his indiſcretion is unhappily of a nature to produce the very worſt effects that can poſſibly ariſe from the moſt atrocious guilt. I am concerned that a gentleman ſo profoundly verſed in the ſubject on which he has written with very great and evident ability, ſhould have been ſo injudicious as to give publicity to what muſt operate to the diſadvantage of his country by diffuſing a diſtruſt of its own ſtrength and reſources, at the ſame time that it inſpires her enemies with the hopes of an eaſy conqueſt. Such muſt be the effect of the pamphlet, if it is read and believed, and my regret is augmented at beholding a mind at once enlightened and benevolent, perverted and jaundiced by the ſpirit of party. The miniſter is fre-

quently treated with an aſperity that ſhews there is ſomething perſonal between him and the author.

It is poſſible that the latter may have had reaſon to complain, yet whatever offence may have been given by the former, either to Mr. Morgan or to his venerable relation, whoſe virtue and talents were at once exemplary and uſeful, and whoſe memory muſt ever be dear to every man who values wiſdom united with the ſtricteſt integrity; I ſtill aver, that it was injudicious and impertinent to the queſtion before us, to blend private reſentment with public complaint. It was extremely wrong to have ſhewn any animoſity to the *man*, at the inſtant that the capacity of the Miniſter was arraigned. In proportion as the Author was influenced by a wiſh to promote the intereſts of his country, the more ſtudiouſly he ſhould have abſtained from every appearance of perſonal diſlike, anger, and reſentment.

Whatever his motives may have been in publiſhing his ſtatement, its credit for correctneſs becomes impeached by its aſperity; its purpoſe will moſt probably be defeated by the little temperance he has ſhewn in the diſcuſſion of matters which do not admit either of declamation or conjecture, and which ought to have been treated

treated with the gravity and preciſion of mathematics. The mind, involved in all the nice intricacies of numbers, where the ſevereſt and moſt unremitting attention is required to feel their force, and comprehend their various combinations, cannot be well pleaſed on being interrupted by impertinent ſarcaſms which *prove nothing*, and which are alike unworthy of the Author and of the ſubject. It is owing to this cauſe, jointly with the imprudence of publiſhing ſuch a ſtatement at this time, that the purity of Mr. Morgan's motive has been impeached, and the accuracy of his ſtatement denied. Nor is it an argument of his impartiality, to brand indiſcriminately every man with being in the pay of the Treaſury who differs from him. There is a want of candour in ſuch reproaches that facts do not require to give them force. Is a difference in opinion with Mr. Morgan a proof of venality, or is it liberal to infer, that the man, who is not convinced by the arguments advanced by Mr. Morgan, muſt be a miniſterialiſt? Is there no medium between the extremes, and muſt every man who writes on public affairs yoke himſelf, ſlave-like, to one party or the other, go in harneſs at their good pleaſure, and pace in no other track than what they point out? That there are Swiſs writers as well as Swiſs of another deſcription, is certainly true, and a truth that is ſeriouſly to be lamented,

becauſe talents ſhould honour, not degrade the poſſeſſor, and be employed, not to hoodwink mankind and prejudice their minds, but to enlighten, conſole, and benefit them. Such are the uſes to which talents ought to be directed: ſuch the applications that ſhould be given to enlarged underſtandings, cultivated and improved by ſtudy and experience. But though there are men who proſtitute the nobleſt gifts of nature;* though there are men who take their pens to market and meanly offer their ſervices at one or the other houſe of call, willing on all occaſions, and even for the baſeſt purpoſes, to ſurrender their judgments, and ſacrifice their principles to their intereſt. I feel aſſured that Mr. Morgan is not of that deſcription; and while I lament that a mind ſo comprehenſive ſhould have been warped by perſonal reſentment, I honour its vigour, and anticipate much future good to the country from its exertions. It is not, however, from the commerce, or the revenues of this country being a million more or a million leſs at one period than at another, that can materially affect the general intereſts of this country, or decide its deſtiny.—Theſe fluctuations are unavoidable.—They reſult from the very nature of commerce, and as revenue is the effect, and not the cauſe of commerce, the former muſt ever partake of the fortunes of the latter. While this

* Vide Appendix A.

this is preſerved to us, all apprehenſions for the ſafety of the other are childiſh.

It is a wiſe and faithful application of the revenue that demands our vigilance and ſolicitude. The ſtate has nothing to fear from the temporary trifling fluctuations of commerce, but its irrecoverable depreſſion, or total extinction. While the markets are open, and our manufactures are in demand, the country muſt not only be ſolvent, but powerful, at leaſt as far as ſtrength is connected with finance; and if the common fluctuations of trade admitted of any certain rule of judging, the arguments they afford on the preſent occaſion favour moſt potently ſome of the concluſions which Lord Auckland has drawn, and baniſh moſt decidedly and effectually from the mind every idea of national bankruptcy. The exertions of the country are ſtupendous; they certainly exceed the efforts of paſt ages, and compared with thoſe of former wars, muſt ſtrike the mind with wonder; but enormous and unexampled as our exertions have been, our ſtrength is far from being exhauſted.—There are yet very great and abundant reſources in the country;—reſources fully adequate to the preſſure of the times, and which, if temperately called forth, and judiciouſly applied, will enable us to reſiſt with a certainty of ſucceſs, whatever the enemy, even in the delirium of his triumphs, dare

dare oppoſe to the loyalty and valour of the Britiſh nation. It is not from a deficiency of means that we ſhall become bankrupts and beggars, but from a wanton abuſe of that ſtrength, and an improvident expenditure of thoſe means. That ſtrength and thoſe means, to have an effect, ſhould be concentrated, if poſſible, into a focus, and if this plain, ſcientific truth had been attended to in the commencement of the conteſt, the great exertions of the preſent moment would have been unneceſſary. It is not from a trifling increaſe or decreaſe of our annual exports and imports that any ſerious calamity can ariſe. The miſchiefs with which we are threatened will not reſult from the variations of foreign markets, nor from our manufactures being in greater demand in Germany than in Italy, but from our numerous expenſive, and in ſome inſtances, unneceſſary eſtabliſhments, and our no leſs numerous ſinecures, the miſerable expediency to which indolent or incapable miniſters were formerly driven in order to govern the country, and retain their employments, and to which their ſucceſſors, with better intentions and without ſuch excuſes, have unhappily adhered, rather than expoſe themſelves to the oppoſition, or hazard the reſentment of thoſe whom it is at all times eaſier to *buy* than *convince*.

It is from the venality and profligacy of individuals, who ought to have nobler ſentiments, and a conduct more correct, that we have the moſt to fear, and if I forbear expatiating on the conſequences that muſt inevitably reſult from this profuſion, in complaiſance to inſatiate vanity or avarice, it is that the taſk is ungrateful and would be thought inſidious by thoſe who are ſuppoſed to have joined the Miniſter, leſs from a ſenſe of common danger than for the purpoſe of obtaining the patronage, emoluments, and conſiderations attached to high official ſituations.

I deny that the country is playing its laſt ſtroke, as Lord [Auckland has imprudently aſſerted, or that it is at its laſt gaſp, as Mr. Morgan pretends, provided that the Miniſter reſolved on right, dares ſhake off the vile trammels of faction and cabal, and truſt to the reſources of his own mind, to his country, and to God for ſupport. I deny that the nation, vexed, haraſſed, and miſled as ſhe has been, is irrecoverably loſt, provided that the Miniſter has the virtue to come forward and adopt thoſe reforms, and inſiſt upon thoſe retrenchments, which policy and common ſenſe point out as the only means of ſalvation, and which are as practicable as they are known to be expedient and equitable. If Mr. Pitt has the courage to emancipate himſelf

from the diſgraceful ſhackles which have curved and reſtricted his well-intentioned march, and which thoſe who moſt reſpected him have moſt lamented; he will immediately find, and the nation will as inſtantly feel the happieſt effects ariſe from a liberation too long poſtponed, and worthy of the reputation attached to his name. By a proper exertion of the vaſt powers of his mind, by a manly and dignified rejection of the pitiful means by which men with corrupt hearts and pitiful minds imagine the complicated intereſts of a great empire are to be conducted, he will become ſuch a miniſter as the exigencies of the moment require; and which the fatal crooked policy, that has influenced our councils of late, has rendered indiſpenſably neceſſary to enable us to meaſure back our ground and recover the poſition we have loſt. It is the moſt effectual, perhaps the only means of infuſing new life and vigour into a conſtitution, enfeebled, not through any inherent defects in itſelf, but from the folly and turpitude of thoſe who have abuſed and perverted its beſt inſtitutions and wiſeſt proviſions to the worſt of purpoſes; but if the favourable opportunity ſhould be loſt by timidity or delay—

If Mr. Pitt, alarmed at the magnitude of the danger before him, or from diſtruſt of his own powers, ſhould prefer temporizing with men to whom

whom he ought to give the law, he will expoſe his country to the heavieſt of calamities, and trifle with his own ſafety; he will find himſelf loſt paſt redemption, and eventually fall, perhaps, the hapleſs victim of his own puſillanimity. Something more than ten years are elapſed, ſince I took occaſion, in ſome letters publicly addreſſed to a perſon, whom it would be pollution to mention, and who, in addition to our other misfortunes, appears to be as loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame, as he is inſenſible to all ſenſe of virtue, that *every new tax is an advance towards a revolution*; and this is a truth that cannot be too often enforced upon the notice of thoſe who have moſt to apprehend, and the moſt to loſe from ſuch an event. It is impoſſible that any tax, however direct and trifling it may be, can have a ſimple operation; every man ſeeks to indemnify himſelf, for what the ſtate takes from him, by ſome means or other; and whatever the object taxed may be, it will ultimately affect, in a greater or leſſer degree, all thoſe articles which are indiſpenſably neceſſary to the ſupport of animal exiſtence. Every tax under the preſent enormous load of public debt has an infectious quality. Its contagion pervades and corrodes the whole ſyſtem of finance, and its accumulating force, like the multiplying powers in mechanics, ſet calculation at defiance; while men find the means of indemnifying them-

ſelves with more than uſurious intereſt for what they contribute, by enhancing the price of the commodities which they vend, or in the more laudable reſources of ſelf-denial and economy, the preſſure will not be felt to any alarming or very painful extent, but the inſtant that the value of the article bears no proportion to its price, the means of indemnity are moſt woefully diminiſhed, and the tax fails in its effect. It will not only counteract its own purpoſe, but become a miſchief to the ſtate, by expoſing the poverty of its reſources, the incapacity of its miniſter or the tyranny of its government.

This fact cannot be better illuſtrated than by recurring to the late tax on port wine, any additional impoſt on that article would moſt probably amount to a prohibition, and when men are compelled to relinquiſh what they have long ceaſed to conſider as a luxury, their loyalty is apt to give way to their feelings; it is then that the reign of clamour commences: and this clamour will aſſume a very ſerious aſpect whenever the firſt neceſſaries of life are beyond the eaſy reach of the laborious part of the community. It is the nature of evil in general to propagate itſelf without the intervention of ſexual enjoyment.—Clamour is of this deſcription—It is the forerunner of revolt, as revolt is the precurſor of a revolution; and a wiſe government, ſenſible

of

of this important truth, will ever bear in faithful remembrance, that whatever provokes clamour, juſtifies in ſome degree the conſequences. If nothing was to be taken from individuals but what the exigencies of the ſtate, or even its profuſions required, the burthen would ſcarce be felt; but we are not only called upon to adminiſter to the neceſſities of government, but to the avarice and rapacity of the merchant or trader, to whom the opening of the budget, or what is ſtill worſe, a calamitous event is very often the ſource of fortune or of wealth. Theſe men in general double every tax that Parliament impoſes; in ſome inſtances they more than quadruple it, and as the inconſiſtencies of mankind appear to have no limits, and their forbearance on ſome occaſions keeps pace with their abſurdities, they clamour and revolt at a ſolitary farthing levied by the legiſlture, while they ſubmit without murmuring to the mercileſs exactions of ſhopkeepers, and allow the avarice and rapacity of trade to pillage them with impunity.

But the moſt ſerious evil that has reſulted from the rapid increaſe of taxes, and the increaſed price of all the immediate neceſſaries of life, is the impoveriſhed ſtate to which their baneful influence has reduced all thoſe whoſe incomes extend from fifty to five hundred pounds a year. The people compriſed within theſe two ſums,

are very numerous, and they are no leſs formidable from their numbers than from their characters. They not only poſſeſs collectively the greateſt portion of the wealth of the country, but by far the greateſt portion of rectitude. There is infinitely leſs vice and profligacy in the middling ranks of life, than in the higheſt and in the loweſt.

The firſt of theſe are apt to claim an exemption from the obligation of morality, in conſequence of that arrogance which fortune and high birth are ſometimes apt to engender; and what tends to confirm minds naturally depraved in their vicious propenſities, is the abject ſervility of thoſe, who, from a baſe attention to their own miſerable intereſts, pay homage to the dignified reptiles in ſociety, whom chance has made rich, royal, or noble, and who muſt at the very moment they receive the vile incenſe of fulſome adulation, deſpiſe the paraſite that flatters their vanity, or adminiſters to their vices. If the higheſt ranks are above all ſenſe of ſhame, the loweſt are below it. It is therefore to the middle orders that government ſhould invariably look for ſupport, for when this invaluable, this formidable body of men, this true and only effectual cement of ſociety, are by the advanced price of proviſions reduced almoſt to the condition of paupers, and complaining of the difficulty

of

of living, call loudly for an alleviation of the burthens that oppreſs them; their grievances muſt be redreſſed, or they may be provoked to make a common cauſe with thoſe who have nothing, and diſſolve the compact.

I do not ſay, that this is preciſely the ſituation of the country at preſent, it, however, ſeems to be rapidly advancing towards that terrible criſis which cannot be contemplated without alarm, and in proof of which I appeal to the candor of every man whoſe memory and experience can carry him back twenty years, to ſay whether thoſe who have at this time an annual income of two hundred pounds, can enjoy more of the comforts of life than thoſe who, antecedent to the American war, had only half that ſum? conſequently the man who has only one hundred pounds a year, is, in fact, reduced by the change of circumſtances to live on fifty. His privations muſt of courſe be conſiderable, and each new tax will neceſſarily diminiſh his comforts. When it is recollected that ſome of theſe privations may have been exacted in order to ſupport ſenſeleſs folly and incorrigible guilt, in diſhonourable ſplendor; he feels the injury aggravated by inſult, and is led to inquire how it is poſſible that an extravagant maintenance of profligacy and bad example, ſhould be connected with a preſervation of morals with which they are at variance,

and

and with the intereſts of ſociety, which they as unqueſtionably tend to undermine and ruin. It is not right that any man living in ſociety ſhould be a dead weight on the community; the law that conſigns an idle worthleſs vagabond to the houſe of correction, recogniſes this ſalutary, equitable principle; and as it cannot be conteſted, it ſhould be applied indifferently to all, without reſpect to perſons. In this inſtance, the beggar claims equality with the prince, and whenever the latter degrades himſelf to a level with the former, he ſhould be made to feel, however callous he may be, the conſequence of his meanneſs and turpitude—the equity of this maxim, and the propriety of its application, are ſo evident, that a truth which is ſeldom attended to in time by government to profit by it, muſt inſtantly occur to every reflecting mind, and even obſtinacy itſelf confeſs, that the ſtrongeſt cable may be ſnapped by tenſion.

Whether the miniſtry, appriſed of the fact, have found leiſure to give it the attention it loudly demands, I know not, and if I have preſumed to expatiate on the probable conſequences of rendering ſo conſiderable a body of men diſcontented, it is from a very ſincere wiſh that the quiet of the nation ſhould be preſerved, not by a military deſpotiſm, to which ſome men, with hearts as obdurate as their minds are arrogant, ſo

confi-

confidently look up, and againſt which I would be the firſt to arm; but by the mild and perſuaſive influence of policy and right, ſanctioned and protected by the conſtitutional laws of the land.

The ſmalleſt pebble thrown into a river, will expand for a moment the broadeſt ſurface. Every new tax touches with more or leſs force each particular item in the voluminous account, and ſwells the ſum total, not only of produce, but of wretchedneſs and woe.

It is ſcarce poſſible to reflect on the extenſive and miſchievous operation which the enormous ſum of five millions additional taxes muſt have on the common comforts and neceſſaries of life, without being ſeriouſly alarmed for the conſequences. Theſe are not times to trifle with the paſſions and underſtandings of mankind. Other expedients than force and fraud muſt be employed to govern them, and the ſooner this wholeſome conſolatory truth is felt, and practiſed by miniſters, the more honourable it will be for themſelves, and the better for their country. The revolution that has taken place in the minds of men, calls loudly on thoſe who are intruſted with the executive government, to exerciſe their authority with great circumſpection,

and to obſerve the moſt rigid œconomy in the expenditure of the public money.

If any commotions ſhould unhappily ariſe in the country, it will not be for the purpoſe of preſcribing limits to prerogative, as in the laſt century, but to exterminate that profuſion and corruption which abſorbs all public and private virtue, and whoſe baneful influence, as Mr. Morgan very juſtly obſerves, tends to annihilate the middle order of people, and leave only two claſſes in ſociety, the very rich and the very poor. I think more highly of Mr. Pitt's judgment than to attribute to him any ſuch intention; but in the preſent ſtate of the country, and temper of the people, it will be wiſdom, as well as juſtice, to bind by the double ties of intereſt and affection, that claſs from which he muſt draw ſupport, and to which he muſt ultimately look for protection in the hour of neceſſity. A marked indifference to their comforts will be attributed to a criminal contempt of their rights, and he will authoriſe the murmurs that he excites. The tranſition from diſcontent to diſaffection is not very difficult or diſtant, and from thence to revolt immediate. The melancholy hiſtory of the times confirms this awful and momentous truth; nor does it require an extraordinary degree of penetration to diſcover, that in the event of another revolution, it is not the dynaſty

that

that will be changed, but the monarchy that will be ſubverted.

It is alſo incumbent on nations, poſſeſſing a pre-eminence in rank, and deſirous of preſerving that pre-eminence, to be careful not only that her impoſts are productive and acceptable at home, but that they do not excite deriſion, or diſcredit her abroad, by authoriſing the idea of penury and ability.

I do not mean to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the talents of the gentleman who propoſed the dog-tax; but if he had been accuſtomed to behold the great intereſts of a wide extended empire, through a larger medium, I do not think he would have propoſed a meaſure ſo extremely ill calculated to impreſs foreigners, and eſpecially the nation with which we are at war, with any very exalted ideas of the abundance of our reſources; the reaſoning of the gentleman in favour of his plan had not even the poor merit of being plauſible. It abounded with contradictions, and proved that its author is as yet at a very conſiderable diſtance from the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

One of its allowed objects was to eaſe the pariſh rates throughout the kingdom, and this it was thought would enſure it great popularity, and

give it a kind of paſſport to the gracious reception of the country gentlemen in Parliament, while the rich farmers, and country 'ſquires who are out of it, would be no leſs captivated at the aſſurances it held out of putting an entire end to the worrying of ſheep, to the horrible effects of the hydrophobia, and above all, to the abominable practice of poaching. In the one inſtance it was a meaſure of finance; in the other, of police; two objects differing very widely from each other, which the gentleman who propoſed the tax ought to have known, ſhould always be kept perfectly diſtinct. On this occaſion they are in direct hoſtility to each other; the tax as a meaſure of finance, deſtroys the tax as a meaſure of police. In the former inſtance, the breed of dogs ſhould be encouraged to render it productive; in the latter, they ſhould be deſtroyed, or our ſportſmen will become furious on finding game leſs plentiful, and the Omſkirk medicine in greater demand than ever. This dilemma would probably not have happened if the gentleman had not been as indifferent a logician as he is a financier. I have no doubt but he loves mutton, in a ſenſe very different to that which Congreve has affixed to it in his play of the Old Bachelor; but whatever may be the deſcription of haunches that he prefers, whether thoſe of mutton, or thoſe that are ſo delicious to the taſt, there certainly will not be a ſheep the leſs deſtroyed

ſtroyed at the year's end, if the tax is productive, and if it is not, the poor rates will loſe the promiſed relief, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who cried halves, and claimed the fourths of it for himſelf will be woefully diſappointed.

But the tax is highly exceptionable in other reſpects, it muſt infallibly operate as a ſentence of death againſt animals who are examples of gratitude and fidelity to mankind, to whom they are at once guardians, companions, and playmates! It is the duty of a legiſlator to abſtain moſt carefully from whatever has the moſt remote tendency to brutalize the mind, and familiarize it with blood, for the object of legiſlation is to civilize men, and reclaim them from the ſavage ferocity of a ſtate of nature. It is a poor and pitiful benevolence that does not extend beyond our own ſpecies; limited to that narrow ſelfiſh ſphere, it will daily counteract itſelf as we advance in life, until it becomes confined entirely to ourſelves, and as ſhrivelled, cold, and forlorn, as avarice itſelf can wiſh.

Mr. Dent is an entire ſtranger to me, I ſcarce know his perſon, or his character; but though I have no reaſon to impeach either his humanity or his urbanity, I cannot but condemn the tax he indiſcreetly propoſed, and that Parliament as indiſcreetly adopted, as extremely injudicious and

and impolitic, even in a political point of view; for it gives the ſemblance of truth to the malicious aſſertions of Mr. Paine, and authoriſes a belief that the reſources of this country muſt be nearly at their laſt ebb, when it is compelled to tax animals of domeſtic uſe, in order to provide for its numerous poor; and the argument derives additional force from the avidity with which the miniſter darted forth, and grappling with the pauper, wreſted from his feeble gripe almoſt the whole of the miſerable pittance that was deſtined excluſively for his ſupport.

Such is the impreſſion that this tax, and the mode of applying it, muſt make on the minds, not only of France, that is in determined hoſtility with us, but on the other powers of Europe, not one of which but hates us to the full as cordially, though in a far leſs dignified manner, as the nation with which we are at war. I am far, very far from being a rich man; I have merely a competency, with which, however, I am perfectly ſatisfied; but ſcanty as my income is, I would cheerfully ſubſcribe half of it, rather than that the enemy ſhould receive an impreſſion of our weakneſs, ſo unfavourable and unjuſt, and that may ſtimulate him to continue hoſtilities in the vain and fallacious hope of obtaining a ſpeedy and complete triumph over this country. It is no ſecret that every art has been employed to ſeduce

duce the directory into an ſuch opinion, and formidable, not to ſay invincible, as the obſtacles are to the ſucceſs of ſuch a wild and impolitic enterpriſe, it appears to have made a ſerious impreſſion on men from whom we ſhould have expected more wiſdom, and whoſe knowledge and experience ſhould have better informed them. But governments, as well as individuals, are ſometimes under the influence of the paſſions, and, like individuals, inſenſible to their true intereſts. The intereſts of France require that Great Britain ſhould retain the rank ſhe holds among the nations of Europe; it is for the intereſts of Europe that this rank ſhould be aſſured to her. The policy that would annihilate the power of this country, muſt be ſhort-ſighted indeed, and much nearer allied to the vindictive reſentment of an implacable individual, than to that wiſdom which ought to characteriſe the councils of a great nation.

It is full time that France and Great Britain, recovered from a delirium that has too long eſtranged them, ſhould be more juſt to each other, and exchange their animoſity for amity—their hoſtility for union. It is full time that the directory, with a magnanimity worthy of that energy which a love of liberty inſpires, and which has made tyranny, ſhrinking within itſelf, tremble for

for its exiſtence, ſhould ſpurn the vile efforts of an alien to impoſe upon their underſtandings, and miſlead their judgment; of an alien who has a revenge to gratify, and whoſe unnatural hatred to his native country requires that his aſſertions ſhould be received with caution and diſtruſt.

It is unworthy of France, and above all, of the glorious animating cauſe in which ſhe is engaged, the cauſe of liberty! that a ſtranger to her manners, genius, and language, ſhould influence her councils, inſtead of policy and rights, and regulate her march to grandeur and repoſe. It is time that both nations, taught wiſdom, by adverſity ſhould ſpurn the treacherous councils of their deadlieſt foes, and that Great Britain, convinced of her follies, ſhould ceaſe to be miſlead by a committee of French exiles, ſitting in judgment, not only on foreigners but on natives. * A committee, compoſed of that deſcription of prieſts, biſhops, and nobles, who are the leaſt entitled to the credit they have obtained, and the leaſt deſerving of the alms they receive, whoſe pernicious influence has diſhonoured our councils, and prolonged the calamities of war, and from whom all confidence will be inſtantly withdrawn, if miniſters conſult either their duty or their ſafety. In a word, it is full time that both nations, invited

* Vide Appendix b.

by policy as well as magnanimity, to friendſhip and to peace, ſhould bury in eternal oblivion all remembrance of paſt wrongs, and cloſe a ſanguinary conteſt, as deſtructive to their intereſts as it is afflicting for humanity!

BRITISH
MUSEUM

A

REVIEW

OF

MR. PITT's ADMINISTRATION.

THE man who pronounces on the wiſdom or folly of public meaſures, from their failure or ſucceſs, places a greater confidence in events than they merit, and makes his judgment a lacquey on the accidents of fortune. The mind that has no other rule to go by, is more liable to commit injuſtice than to applaud deſert, and in matters of high national import, a better ſtandard ſhould be reſorted to. This cannot be better explained than by ſtating a caſe, and before I ſtate it, it is neceſſary to premiſe, that I have purpoſely taken very diſtant ground from what I conceive to have been the real object of the war, in order to avoid the poſſibility of being miſrepreſented, or ſuppoſed to mean any indecent alluſion to the King's ſervants; I will ſup-

poſe that the miniſter, authoriſed to believe from the information tranſmitted from France, corroborated by the deplorable ſtate of that country within, that the complete deſtruction of a rival kingdom was an object eaſily to be attained, and that its accompliſhment was an object of great public utility, and highly advantageous to the country, whoſe intereſts were confided to his care; let it be ſuppoſed he was fully perſuaded that the political exiſtence of a powerful and dangerous neighbour could be extinguiſhed, and that ſuch an event would not only leave us without an enemy capable of contending with us, but inſure to us the entire commerce of the world, admitting the poſſibility of the enterpriſe, and ſuppoſing it to have been completely ſucceſsful: that France, no longer a vaſt and well-compacted nation, was broken into a variety of fragments, with ſcarce ſufficient left of her antient domains to aſcertain her former extent of territory; her power irretrievably deſtroyed, and the pre-eminence of the Britiſh empire aſſured for ever; if ſuch an event had been the iſſue of the preſent conteſt, what opinion would have been entertained of the miniſter? He would have been extolled and idolized until the vaſt arch above us re-echoed to our captivated ears the vile plaudits he received! The event would have juſtified the baſe attempt of re-plunging a people juſt emerging from darkneſs, deſpotiſm, and deſpair,

into

into the brilliant atmoſphere of liberty, to ſhare, in common with ourſelves, the bleſſings of a free conſtitution. The bold and indecent violation of all right would have been loſt in the ſplendor of his triumphs, and in the ſame degree that he would have been applauded in victory, we find him defamed, execrated, and blaſted in defeat.

Is this the boaſted juſtice of mankind! and is a miniſter criminal, becauſe he is unfortunate? Yet thus it is in the great code of nations! the morality of their actions is a contingency on events, and meaſures become equitable or wiſe, raſh or iniquitous, as they happen to prove ultimately fortunate or unfortunate. There is nothing forced, conſtrained, or aſſumed in this reaſoning. The ſtatement is fair. The facts upon which it is founded are recent within every man's memory, and cannot be controverted; all the proud ties of national honour, combined with juſtice and policy; all the milder and more immediate relations of private duty and affection, together with the whole of the multifarious barriers erected by religion and morality, in the vain hope of preſcribing bounds to the rapacity of nations and of men, were ſcandalouſly, not to ſay impiouſly overleaped, and Heaven itſelf braved, when the attempt was made to dragoon three millions of our fellow ſubjects into *unconditional* ſubmiſſion. Three millions of people, and theſe people our brethren,

our

our friends, and brothers, dragooned into unconditional ſubmiſſion! It was the fiat of an individual, and a worthleſs ſenate was an accomplice in the infamy. Unconditional ſubmiſſion was the language of the miniſter; it was that of parliament and of the nation. The laſt taught wiſdom by adverſity, compelled the ſecond to meaſure back its ground, and put an end to what it ought never to have ſanctioned, and the firſt was diſgraced and driven from the power he had fatally abuſed, not becauſe he was *culpable*, but becauſe he was UNFORTUNATE. My motive for referring to this diſhonourable conteſt, is not for the purpoſe of palliating the diſaſters of the preſent war, or to abſolve miniſters from any guilt they may have incurred, either in the objects they propoſed to themſelves from the conteſt, and upon which I am incompetent to judge, or from the mode in which they have conducted that conteſt, upon which every man is qualified to ſpeak.

The purport of this reaſoning is to counteract inſidious hypocriſy, which avails itſelf of diſaſter to promote its own intereſted views, and that piteouſly, affects to bewail an event, while it endeavours to turn its unpopularity to a profitable account. I am warranted by experience in the belief, that many who call the war unjuſt and unneceſſary, would have called it equitable and expe-

expedient if it had been glorious, and, above all, if it had ſuited their purpoſe. Their object is to get into office, and every calamity, every failure or unfavourable event becomes a lever in their corrupt hands, with which they labour with an induſtry proportioned to their neceſſities, in the hope of ultimately forcing the miniſter out of his place. I beg this may not be underſtood as applying altogether to the preſent times, or to every man indiſcriminately who oppoſes the meaſures of the crown. I have no doubt but there are many who are influenced by a ſenſe of right, and directed by a judgment capable of deciding; but I alſo know, and ſo does every man elſe, that there are others who are not actuated by ſuch honourable motives, and who only join in the cry in the hope of coming in for a ſhare of the ſpoil. Such men are unworthy of the confidence to which they aſpire, and they treſpaſs very much on our forbearance by their boaſt of public virtue. The miſchiefs done to the public intereſt by this deſcription of people, is not eaſily calculated; their motives being known, their clamors only give additional vigour and effect to the very ruin they oppoſe, and if the meaſures of men in power are either weak or wicked, the evil is without remedy. When repeated experience has convinced the people that the clamor againſt miniſters is the reſult of cabal,

and that though their meaſures are the pretexts, their places are the ends; when the people, deceived by theſe pretexts, become indifferent to thoſe clamors, and feeling the mortifying conviction, that whichever party is the victor, they alone are the dupes; when gamblers and adventurers of every deſcription come forward with an impudent boaſt of public virtue, and pretending an attachment to the intereſt of the people, claim their confidence and ſupport, the honeſt man, aſhamed of ſuch companions, diſdains to partake their triumphs, and leaves the field of patriotiſm to the mock combatants that engroſs it. Under ſuch circumſtances, no wonder that all confidence and ſupport are withheld, and that the people inſulted, haraſſed, and their patience exhauſted, behold the efforts of ſuch men with indifference, and their profeſſions with ſcorn. When an oppoſition, fallen in the public opinion, has had all confidence withdrawn from it; when its character counts for leſs in the public eſtimation than even its numbers, all conſtitutional check on the ſervants of the crown is removed, and an apathy favourable to deſpotiſm is preferred rather than reſort to the terrible expedient of civil war and anarchy for relief.

I am

I am very far from aſſerting that this applies in its whole extent to the preſent oppoſition; I know that there are many very deſerving, and moſt excellent characters in it—men, no leſs eminent for their public virtues and independent minds, than they are for their talents and amiable manners; but I hazard no contradiction, and I am not afraid of giving offence when I aſſert, that the oppoſition has not that credit with the people which an oppoſition ought to have, and which can alone enable it to be an efficient check on the conduct of miniſters. This is preciſely the misfortune, or rather the evil, of which I complain; it is an evil which every friend to peace, order, and liberty muſt ſincerely deplore, and it well deſerves to be traced to its ſource and explained. It was after many fierce efforts in the Houſe of Commons, in which wit, argument, truth, policy, and right, had to contend againſt corrupt influence, that the former obtained a temporary triumph over the latter, and drove Lord North from a ſituation to which, from the natural indolence of his temper, he was only equal in times of profound peace.

It was at this epoch that Mr. Fox firſt diſplayed thoſe aſtoniſhing abilities to which panegyric cannot do ſufficient juſtice; but having enliſted under the banners of a miniſter, deſervedly unpopular for the part he took againſt

Mr. Wilkes, to whoſe zeal, courage, and perſeverance this country has very ſerious obligations, Mr. Fox partook of the diſgrace attached to the obnoxious meaſures he ſupported, and the diſſipations into which he was ſeduced by faſhion and example, did not contribute to give him that kind of popularity which in maturer life could alone have been worthy of his purſuit or choice.

I do not mean any illiberal reflection on the early manhood of Mr. Fox, when I aſſert that the hazard or pharo tables ought not to be the channel to high official truſt, and that gaming is a vice as mean as it is miſchievous, for it confounds the firſt and beſt characters in the ſtate with the loweſt and moſt vile. It reſembles death by levelling all diſtinctions, and frequently by its conſequences conducts its votaries to ſuicide, or an ignominious exit. Pharo tables and pharo men ſhould be objects of vindictive juſtice; the former ſhould be conſigned to the flames, and the latter to the beadle, to be ſcourged into the wholeſome habits of honeſt induſtry. It is impoſſible that Mr. Fox can have forgotten the period to which I allude, and he muſt have perfect recollection of the animated ſupport which Lord North derived from his wonderful eloquence, in meaſures which were to the full as hoſtile to the liberties of the people, as thoſe which

which he has lately oppoſed with an ardor worthy of his great abilities, and of the ſacred cauſe of liberty! worthy of an Engliſhman; with an ardor which leaves no doubt in my mind of the ſincerity of his contrition, and which juſtifies his claim to the applauſe he has received.

I do not wiſh to travel out of my way to diſcover matter of reproach againſt a man whom I am pleaſed to behold anxious to atone for the errors of a life moſt prodigally miſpent. I paſs over his quarrel, and the cauſe of that quarrel with the miniſter; I ſhall only obſerve, that an event which ſoon afterwards happened, gave to private reſentment, jealouſy, and ambition, all the force, fame, and efficacy of public virtue. The American war, fortunately for Mr. Fox, happened ſoon after he broke with Lord North, and the ſteady manly oppoſition that was given to a meaſure at once iniquitous, impolitic, and impracticable, effaced from remembrance all that had been deemed offenſive in his character. The exceſſes in which he had indulged were no longer condemned, and it was matter of exultation to his friends, and of admiration to every one elſe, that ſo much knowledge ſhould be acquired, and matter of ſuch vaſt variety and import, ſtudied and underſtood, amidſt the diſſipations in which he was plunged and retained as in a vortex. In proportion as the obſtinate perſeverance of Lord North

angered men's minds, it added to the popularity of Mr. Fox, and this popularity was augmented by the ſolemn pledge he had given to bring the miniſter to juſtice; convinced of his ſincerity, it was expected when he came into office, that the promiſe repeatedly given would have been as faithfully realized, and the delinquent puniſhed. But Mr. Fox had acquired his great object, and the people who before had been every thing, were taught to feel the mortifying and inſulting diſtinction between a man in office and a man out of it. They found they were no longer of that account in the eſtimation of Mr. Fox in power, as they had been while he was in oppoſition. He had obtained, by the aſſurances he had given, their confidence on certain poſitive conditions, virtually agreed upon by both parties, unfortunately it was only fulfilled by one of them. It was due to the manes of ſlaughtered thouſands; it was due to the millions wantonly ſquandered in a diſhonourable conteſt; it was due to public juſtice that a delinquent miniſter ſhould have been made an example of, and Mr. Fox was bound to have put Lord North on his trial. But Mr. Fox in power paid no attention to the promiſes he had repeatedly made when out of it.

" *When the devil was ill, the devil a monk would be,*
" *When the devil was well, the devil a monk was he.*"

On

On this occaſion Mr. Fox may be ſaid to reſemble a thing that is good in the *middle*, but rotten at *each end*.

If the people were ſurpriſed and offended at the impunity granted to a man whom they had been taught to believe would be impeached, their anger and ſurpriſe were much augmented on beholding this impunity aſſured to him by the very man who ſtood pledged to bring him to juſtice—by the very man who had publicly declared this guilty miniſter to be ſo infamous, that that he would not truſt himſelf alone in the ſame room with him! What the particular infamy was that rendered his Lordſhip ſo dangerous, I know not, but I cannot even yet account for the facility with which Mr. Fox forgot that infamy, and braved that danger, on any other principle than that of getting again into office; and however deſirable the object itſelf may have been, I am ſure the means by which he obtained it, were far from honourable or juſtifiable.

The people were alſo of that opinion, and thoſe who are in the habit of thinking rightly, think ſo yet. It revealed a very melancholy truth to the world, and a very fatal one to the reputation of the gentleman himſelf; it ſhewed the very little confidence that ought to be repoſed in the profeſſions of public men, and that the

public good is leſs the object of their purſuits, than emolument, power, and diſtinction.

It was in the midſt of this general and well-founded diſcontent, that the people, angered almoſt to madneſs, with a man who had impoſed upon them in the firſt inſtance, and inſulted them in the ſecond, withdrew their confidence, and transferred to the preſent miniſter, whoſe youth, uncontaminated by the vices of the age, was an argument of his integrity, and pleaded moſt eloquently in his favour—whoſe perſon and whoſe name were alike unknown on the turf and at the gaming tables, and who ſeemed ſtudiouſly to avoid thoſe exceſſes which ſtain the infant character of manhood, and leave a ſtain for life.

The pardonable irregularities of Mr. Fox, at a very early period, had injured him in the opinion of thoſe who eſtimate the merit of men by their parſimony; there were others, who, with far more liberal ideas, were ill diſpoſed to confide the honour and intereſts of a great empire to a man who had been ſo ſhamefully improvident of his own. The ſincerity of Mr. Fox's profeſſions in favour of the rights of the people was denied by ſome, and conſidered as very equivocal by all thoſe who remember his violence towards the printers, and his attachment

to a miniſter who was certainly no friend to civil liberty.

It is not my wiſh to do injuſtice to any man, but the moſt partial of thoſe who are attached to the gentleman in queſtion, muſt acknowledge, that the brilliancy of his aurora was very much ſhaded by diſſipated habits, and an alacrity to ſupport arbitrary meaſures, at that period of his life when mankind are ſuppoſed to have the beſt and pureſt affections, with the feweſt vices. With a character, which to ſpeak favourably of it, is at leaſt equivocal, it was the height of indiſcretion in Mr. Fox to have coaleſced with the man whom he had threatened to bring to the block, and whom he had alternately courted and ſpurned; to thoſe who attentively conſider the profeſſions and conduct of public men, and by comparing the one with the other, judge of their merit and rectitude, there was leſs in this part of his conduct to ſurpriſe than to offend, while the nation, indignant at the inſult, or rather ſtab, which had been given to public morals, by this more than ſcandalous union, appreciated the conduct as it deſerved, and withdrew all confidence from the man who had deceived and inſulted them.

It was at this epoch that Mr. Pitt, ſlow riſing above the horizon in all the majeſty of conſcious

dignity,

dignity, was hailed by his wounded country as its ſaviour and protector. The engaging ſimplicity of youthful innocence gave brilliancy to his dawn, while his degraded, fallen adverſary, eclipſed by the luſtre of a triumphant rival, ſunk into darkneſs and oblivion! O God! it was a moment that virtue herſelf might have envied him—it was a moment worth centuries of fame, and if the ſenſibility of Mr. Pitt ſhould (unhappily for his repoſe!) bear any proportion to the vigor of his underſtanding, the recollection of the rich poſſeſſion he has loſt, muſt render him the moſt wretched of mankind! I ſhall not run into the unjuſt and illiberal extreme of vulgar indiſcriminate cenſure; I ſhall not pronounce in union with a ſenſeleſs multitude, that a miniſter is culpable becauſe he is unfortunate; thoſe, however, who would abſolve Mr. Pitt from all blame, may mean well, but their zeal holds no place with diſcretion, and is likely to do him miſchief, while thoſe who attribute the whole of our diſaſters to his criminality, inflict a wrong that ill accords with the juſtice and generoſity of an enlightened nation.

It is a lamentable truth, that mankind have a propenſity to precipitate deciſion in matters of the greateſt moment, while in the trivial concerns of common life, they ſubmit to the fatigue of painful and accurate inveſtigation before they pronounce,

pronounce. If deliberation is neceſſary in the latter inſtance, it is ſurely much more ſo in the former, where their deareſt intereſts are no leſs concerned than the fame, fortune, or life perhaps of a miniſter, an admiral, or a general, who, in the event of a defeat or calamity, are often declared culpable, or perhaps denounced as traitors or as cowards, on the very arrival of diſaſtrous intelligence. This is unfair. It is an evil of very wide extent and diffuſive operation; it tends to eradicate every principle of juſtice from the human mind, and to make men little ſolicitous to deſerve a reputation which may never be accorded to them, and which, when obtained, after many years honeſt toil and inceſſant application, may be torn from them by the calumny of a vindictive rival, or the accident of a moment. The fame of a miniſter, or of a commander in chief, ought not to be a contingency on chance. Each may have deſerved well in diſappointment and defeat, as well as in victory or ſucceſs; each may have acted wiſely and done the beſt, but ſucceſs is a thing that rejects all diſcipline; it ſpurns command, and is as often, if not more frequently, the companion of fortune than of merit. It is too much the practice of the world to applaud the fortunate, and while it inflicts on adverſity all the odium due to crime, it forgets that events are not within the graſp of power, and that diſ-

appointment and defeat do not require the additional aggravation of injuſtice or reproach, to make them more bitter and calamitous.

To form a juſt idea of the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, it will be neceſſary to examine the whole of it in one compact entire maſs—not in pitiful detail—not any particular meaſure that the malice of party may ſeize and faſten upon as moſt favourable to their purpoſe. It will alſo be neceſſary to recollect the ſituation of the country, when the united voice of that country vociferouſly called on him to aſſume the adminiſtration of her deareſt intereſts. The diſgraceful circumſtances that marked that period are not yet beyond our memory and obſervation; they are yet very diſtinct to our viſion, and we are in ſome ſort the victims of their turpitude, for the loſt and bankrupt character of oppoſition at that moment, releaſed miniſters from the reſtraint they would have been under, if their opponents had held that dignified rank in the public mind, which can alone render an oppoſition a check on weak and guilty men, and which an oppoſition influenced by public virtue, and intent ſolely on the public good, will ever poſſeſs; but the confidence was forfeited almoſt as ſoon as it was granted. The people beheld with equal anger and ſurpriſe, that an adminiſtration pretending to public virtue, had

had commenced its career by a marked contempt of one of the conditions on which it came into power, and by ſuperſeding an admiral * commanding in chief, in the very moment and ſplendor of victory, not to reward merit of equal pretenſions in another, but to enable a man † to repair his ruined fortunes who had been beggared at the gaming table. The coaleſcing with Lord North, whom they had ſupplanted and ſtood pledged to puniſh, completed their diſgrace, and deſtroyed in a great degree the credit of future oppoſitions. The nation, diſguſted and diſheartened, reſented the deception, and gave to miniſters a confidence which they have of late almoſt as ill managed as their predeceſſors.

The ſubſequent conduct of a part of that oppoſition has not contributed to inſpire the people with much confidence in the profeſſions of public men, nor with much reverence for men decorated with great names.‡ The marine phraſe, introduced

* Lord Rodney. † Admiral Pigott.

‡ If ſome men of this deſcription; men whoſe only inheritance is their wealth or coronets; whoſe education, conduct, and capacities would diſgrace a ſtable yard, and who have the folly to expect, and the inſolence to require the homage due only to talents and integrity, ſhould repreſent me as an enemy to ariſtocracy; if, (for there are ſuch characters even in this country) they ſhould be joined in this calumny by thoſe who cringe and dangle on nobility; by thoſe whoſe proſtituted minds, incapable

introduced as a device by a profeſſional man of the party, was no longer the ſignal of union.

pable of elevation, run after titles, and give them the attributes of divinity; if theſe men, theſe he-goſſips, who barter their freedom for a dinner at the table of a peer, and who at once ſycophants and tale-bearers, trot about the ſtreets from morning till night, picking up anecdotes, ſcandal, or news for his Lordſhip or Grace; if theſe men ſhould join in the malevolent whiſper, and propagate by faint echoes, for they have not the courage to ſpeak out, the ſlanders of their maſter, it is to my general conduct—it is to my converſation and my writings—it is to the honeſt teſtimony of an impartial world that I appeal, to vindicate me from their vile and injurious falſhoods.

I agree with Mr. Burke, that the nobility are the Corinthian order in the ſtate, and as ſuch, I am ever ready to reſpect, and in caſe of neceſſity, to defend them with all the vigour that a feeble arm can exert; but when the miſerable imitations of a bungling carpenter which uphold an ill-conſtructed pent, is preſented to my viſion as the rich columns of Vitrivius, which ought alone to grace and dignify the grand portico of the Britiſh temple, my indignation is excited in proportion to the inſult offered to my underſtanding, and I pity the fool that miſtakes a poſt for a pillar.

High ſounding titles may have operated as a taliſman on the uninformed minds of our rude anceſtors in the extinguiſhed days of feudal vaſſalage, but in theſe more enlightened times, far different ideas are annexed to titles. Men have learnt to form a better eſtimate of things, and it is reaſon, not prejudice or ignorance, that appreciates their value. In men who are noble, either by deſcent or creation, we expect to ſee the nobleneſs of virtue and of talents juſtifying their proud claim to diſtinction; but when the blockhead or the knave, vain of his coronet, preſents that bauble as a certificate of his ſenſe or of his honeſty, it is not merit that we behold rewarded, but vice or folly dignified.

" *A pull*

"*A pull, a ſtrong pull and a pull all together,*" was certainly good council. They pulled, and pulled ſtrongly, but not all together; they pulled in different directions, the rope broke, and down they all fell, ſome ſcrambled one way, ſome another; one man got ſnug into the Admiralty; another, curbed by age, avarice, and diſeaſe,* hid himſelf and one of his children under a large table; a third ſtole off for the Horſe Guards; a fourth ran into the Treaſury; a fifth ſet off for Ireland, and came back again, aſhamed of what he had done; a ſixth ſneaked off quietly away to Lincoln's Inn, while a ſeventh, more crafty than all the reſt, made a dart at the Exchequer, and ſeizing in his mercileſs gripe all he could find, ſcampered off with his pelf to Beaconsfield.

* What confidence or reſpect can the people have in its miniſters or in parliament, when they find, by lamentable experience, that the former cannot carry on the public buſineſs without ſubmitting to the exactions of avarice in the latter. I do not like to recur to names, nor is it neceſſary; but what ſervices can the ſecond ſon of this wretched miſer have rendered to his country, to entitle him to the enormous ſinecure obtained for him by his father? If it ſhould be ſaid that the miniſter could not have had the ſupport of the latter without this arrangement, or rather donation to a boy at ſchool, I anſwer, that it was one of thoſe abuſes that call loudly for remedy, and that muſt be remedied, if it is meant to preſerve the conſtitution; and if his Lordſhip had the indecency to exact ſuch a conceſſion as the terms upon which he would alone agree to quit oppoſition, and ſupport the ſervants of the crown, it is a ward in Bridewell that he ſhould occupy, and not a ſeat in the Britiſh cabinet.

The reſt were left on the pavé, but taught wiſdom by experience; I hope they feel the neceſſity in this perilous moment of a conduct more correct, and hereafter prove, that what they want in numbers, they will make good in zeal, talents, and integrity. In repeating what has become hiſtory, I mean no offence to the individuals of any party; my object is to account for the preſent deplorable ſtate of the oppoſition in this country, and not to compliment the preſent adminiſtration with having acquired confidence in proportion as their opponents have loſt it. No ſuch thing, the ſecurity of the former ariſes leſs from the juſtice of their claims, than from the difficulty of replacing them; the queſtion is not ſo much whether they deſerve their ſituations, as who can be found worthy of the public confidence to ſucceed them. If miniſters have lately loſt ground, oppoſition has not gained any, and but for the extraordinary events which have ſhaken the repoſe of the world for a century perhaps, the latter would long ſince have glided down the ever ebbing ſtream of time, and have been totally forgotten. The eddy of a current is always in proportion to its rapidity.

The innumerable events which have occurred ſince Mr. Fox reſumed the dignified and important ſtation of a chief of a party, have by their wonderful velocity and ſucceſſion, forced him back again upon our notice, to ſomething like the

the position he held before the close of the American war. It remains with ministers to exclude him from the honours of a second triumph, by adopting wiser councils, and pursuing better measures. If my information is correct, he has no objection to such a compromise; I am assured that if he can gain something for the country, he will desire nothing for himself, and I am inclined to believe him sincere in this declaration, from what I have heard of his general habits.

Having rendered this justice to Mr. Fox, I feel it a duty to repel a calumny, to which, by supporting it, he has given a degree of credit highly unworthy of his justice, if his information on the subject is complete, and disgraceful to his candor and liberality, if he has taken the matter upon trust, as an expedient to affect a change in his Majesty's councils. An unpopular war is at all times a very hazardous measure, and it was more so for Mr. Pitt than than for any former minister; his reputation was pledged to a system of œconomy, and it was decidedly the object he had most at heart, and to which he had evidently given the most unremitting attention. His interest, his duty, his own particular bent of mind, the pursuits the most acceptable to him, all conspired to dispose him to peace in preference to war, and (exclusive of facts and documents from which no appeal can be made) strongly prove, that he was reluctantly forced

forced into meaſures obnoxious to his inclinations, and which of all others was the moſt fatal to his favourite object, and the moſt hazardous to engage in. Theſe are facts well known, and with theſe in our memory, there is ſomething worſe than calumny in aſſerting that he ſought the war, and travelled out of his road to find the ſtrumpet, and bring her home to his dwelling. It was not for the purpoſe of replacing the head of Lewis the Sixteenth on his mutilated body, that an Engliſh miniſter would have dared to have gone to war; neither was it to extricate the hapleſs Queen, whoſe fortitude in affliction eclipſes the boaſted heroiſm of man, from the labyrinth of a priſon and the aſſaſſins of her huſband; morally ſpeaking, ſuch an attempt in an individual would have been laudable, and, if ſucceſsful, entitled to all the honours of chivalry, but nations are not to turn night-errants, and run wild after adventures. Kingdoms have one policy and individuals another; what would be heroic in a man, might be vicious and unpardonable in a ſtate. The latter has the happineſs of millions in charge, and muſt conſult the ſecurity and proſperity of the whole; the other expoſes only himſelf or his family, and may be permitted an act of extravagance in favour of diſtreſſed humanity, without incurring much cenſure, or producing any calamity of ſerious extent to the community. It is abſurd to ſuppoſe

poſe that miniſters could ever have been ſo indiſcreet as to attach any ſerious importance to names; it is of little conſequence what name the man bears to whom the intereſts of a nation are confided, whether it is Legendre or Burke, provided thoſe intereſts are faithfully adminiſtered; nor can I believe that it was ever an object for which miniſters would have hazarded a conteſt, whether France was a monarchy or a republic; and though for very obvious reaſons they might prefer the former, they ought not, and could not, in juſtice, have made any objection to the latter. How far they might have been diſpoſed to go to war, I cannot take upon me to decide, but from what I had occaſion to obſerve towards the cloſe of the year 1792, and the commencement of the year 1793, and ſo far as my penetration enabled me to judge of the intentions of Mr. Pitt, I have every reaſon to believe they were perfectly pacific. I am even perſuaded that he was averſe to hoſtilities, until the executive council left him no other alternative.

The great ground of argument with oppoſition is, and it would be very high and inacceſſible, if they could keep it as eaſily as they have taken it, that M. Maret came over to this country to treat, and that miniſters refuſed to treat with him. This aſſertion is in all its parts the very reverſe of truth, and it has always been

matter of very great concern to me, that Mr. Fox, whom I wiſh to ſee regarded as an authority, ſhould have perſiſted in aſſertions which I have it in my power ſo completely to contradict. The origin and conduct of the war are two very diſtinct things, and as the latter has certainly been at once erroneous and diſaſtrous, it is an act of juſtice to keep them ſeparate and diſtinct, that miniſters ſhould not have more to anſwer for than is conſiſtent with facts. If the war was unavoidable, as I truſt it will hereafter appear, miniſters will be abſolved from a great portion of blame, and all the criminality annexed to aggreſſion.

It is not probable that I hold any place in the affections of Mr. Fox, perhaps I hold as little in thoſe of Mr. Pitt. If the ſeverity with which I have cenſured a conduct which appeared to me highly reprehenſible, excludes me from his friendſhip, I have certainly a claim to his juſtice. I think too highly of his mind, not leſs manly than ſplendid, to believe it capable of intentional wrong, and differing with him as I have done, I feel aſſured he will give me credit for veracity, and pay that attention to the information he will receive, which is due to truth.

At the period the moſt awful for this country, and the moſt difficult for her miniſters, Mr. Fox

was

was in the habit of seeing M. Chauvelin, who, to his other indiscretions, made it an argument of merit with his employers, that he was in confidential intercourse with those who were in direct hostility to the measures of the sovereign to whom he was accredited, and with whose ministers alone he ought to have communed on public affairs respecting the interests of the two nations.

The folly and impropriety of this conduct in the French envoy would not have had any importance annexed to it, if it had not been countenanced by the French executive council. If M. Le Brun and his associates had wished well to this country; if it had really been their wish to avoid hostilities, they would carefully have abstained from whatever might have given umbrage or excited the jealousy of government; and, above all, they would have reprimanded their envoy, if their dispositions towards Great Britain had been pacific, when he made a proud boast, and urged it as an argument for his being continued after they had recalled him; that though he was ill with ministers, he was well with opposition. They did no such thing; on the contrary, they admitted the plea, and allowed him to remain.

I will not distress Mr. Fox by asking him the interpretation that ought to be given to this conduct in the executive council, but I call upon him to say what he would have thought, while

he was in office, of any foreign minister who would have acted as M. Chauvelin, and what confidence he would have had in the pacific declarations of the court that employed and countenanced him? At the period to which I allude, the French envoy in England shewed his instructions to a gentleman who is much in the confidence of Mr. Fox, to whom I am well known, and who is in Parliament, and these instructions positively stated that the "*Scheld* "*would not be given up, and that Le Brun was* "*resolved to insist upon the acknowledgment of the* "*French republic in the person of M. Chauvelin, pre-* "*liminary to all explanation of the differences that* "*had arisen.*" As to M. Chauvelin, he made no secret of declaring, that if he was not received at St. James's, the height of his ambition would be to leave this country with a declaration of war.

If there was any real cause for a misunderstanding between the two nations, this gentleman had nothing conciliatory in his temper to have softened matters, and to have disposed the two governments to peace; and if it was the mutual wish of each party to seek a pretext for quarrel, France certainly could not have selected a better object for the purpose. The conduct of the executive council in chusing at such a moment a man with such little capacity, dignity, and temper, will serve, I hope, as a negative lesson of advice

advice to Lord Grenville in his diplomatic arrangements.

The communication made by the French miniſter of his inſtructions, to a gentleman in avowed hoſtility to government, argued no favourable diſpoſition towards that government. That Mr. Fox ſhould have every information in my power to give him, I will ſtate in detail the entire hiſtory of the irregular communications which afterwards enſued through other channels than that of M. Chauvelin, at leaſt as far as I was concerned in them, and I will prove to him by the authority of M. Maret, of whom I ſhall ever ſpeak with affection and reſpect, that at the time he obtained the interview with Mr. Pitt, he had neither miſſion nor authority to ſee the Chancellor of the Exchequer, nor any other miniſter, nor to treat on public affairs. Mr. Fox, on what authority I know not, has always pertinaciouſly aſſerted the contrary, and on a late debate, when he propoſed a change of ſyſtem,* this charge was renewed, and the miniſter accuſed in direct terms of having provoked the war, by refuſing to ſee M. Maret, when he came over authoriſed to treat.

It ſhall be my buſineſs to prove, that M. Maret, in the firſt inſtance, had no ſuch object; and in

* In May 1796, a few days previous to the diſſolution of Parliament.

the

the ſecond, he declined applying for an interview, until he had received freſh inſtructions, which he ſuppoſed would have been neceſſary, from the circumſtance of M. Chauvelin having been ordered to quit the kingdom.

This is not the place to enter into the objects of the war, or of the conduct of it. On the one I am not competent to decide, and as to the other, it is before the world, and unfortunately needs neither herald nor hiſtorian. My object is to prove that France was more diſpoſed to war than to peace, and that ſhe not only declared the war, but provoked it.

When I returned to this country, after a reſidence of many years on the continent, I preſerved by correſpondence the intimacies I had made, and my attachment to a rational, well-ordered liberty was well known in the different countries where I had reſided; it procured me the friendſhip, and an epiſtolary intercourſe with thoſe at Paris, who, as well as myſelf, conſidered revolutions as neceſſary, only in the degree that they are conducive to the happineſs and freedom of mankind. A miſſion with which I had been charged to the Prince Biſhop of Liege, and which proved I had been in relation with the miniſter, was no ſecret at Paris, and the known circumſtances attending that miſſion were very

far from injuring me in the opinion of those with whom I corresponded.

In the month of September I saw a person from Le Brun, who wished to obtain, through me, an interview with the minister, but having reason to suspect the good faith of the principal, and having no personal knowledge of the agent, I declined interfering. Some other applications were made to me, which, from the little importance annexed to them, I did not think myself authorised to communicate to government. Much about this time, a person whose father has had an high official situation in France, and with whose family I had lived in habits of intimacy, called frequently upon me, and as he had been in the diplomatic line, and to a very excellent understanding, added a very sincere love of peace and good order, our conversations were without reserve. Towards November they assumed a consequence which made me more attentive to them than usual, and on the 13th of that month it struck me as so very important, that I begged leave of my friend to commit it to paper.*

This is the origin of the interview which M. Maret afterwards had with Mr. Pitt, and it deserves attention, not only from its matter, but its date, for it was at that period that the storm

* Vide Appendix. No. I.

which

which has ſince fatally burſt upon both countries, aſſumed a very ill foreboding aſpect. It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that the executive council had made up their minds at this time on the part they had reſolved to take. It is alſo very evident, that unacquainted with the force and genius of our language, they attributed every ardent expreſſion in favour of liberty, to an impatient deſire to ſubvert the government; and as our debating ſocieties at this period held bold, animated language, which appeared to the French as the extreme of violence, the executive council looked upon a revolt as inevitable. This error aroſe no leſs from the difference of the two languages, than from the exaggerated accounts which were ſent to Paris, of the ſtate of the public mind in this country. The warmth with which an Engliſhman expreſſes himſelf is very liable to be miſunderſtood and miſinterpreted by thoſe foreigners who are not well acquainted with our manners and our language; and hence one cauſe of the error into which Le Brun and his colleagues were betrayed, and hence the cauſe of the undeſerved reproaches which ſome of theſe debating ſocieties incurred. I have printed the note exactly as it was taken in the preſence of the perſon with whom I converſed, omitting nothing but ſome wild aſſertions reſpecting the views and influence of theſe ſocieties, which he, as well as

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the reſt of his countrymen, conſidered as means in the laſt reſort, to force the Britiſh cabinet to chuſe between diſhonourable conceſſion and a war, which they conſidered would place the miniſter ſo completely between two fires, that government, aſſailed at the ſame time by civil inſurrection and foreign hoſtility, would inevitably fall, and this country, incapable of miſchief, would fall into impotency and ruin by their own diſtractions.

Such I aver on the faith of an honeſt man, were the deluſive hopes entertained by Le Brun, and many others, who, unfortunately for both nations, had more power and influence at that moment than ſenſe and diſcretion, and whoſe fatal errors moſt probably accelerated the terrible criſis that ſoon after happened. It unqueſtionably was the policy of this country to obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality, and this policy was ſo obvious, that miniſters would certainly not have departed from it, if they had not been compelled, *ce n'eſt pas aſſez qu'une nation ſoit pacifique, il faut que toutes les deux le ſoient.*

I had frequent interviews after this period (the 13th November) with the ſame perſon; he came to me very often, and on the return of the courier he had diſpatched to Paris, he aſſured me he was authoriſed to requeſt an interview

with Mr. Pitt, and desired my good offices to obtain it. I desired him to state himself to the minister that he had something to communicate on the part of the executive council, and begged to know when he could be honoured with an interview. This he declined, assuring me that so many unsuccessful efforts had been made to get access both to Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, that he was discouraged, and again urged me to use my interest in consideration of the great stake at issue. No less ardent than himself to prevent the calamities of war, I desired him not to deceive me, and lead me to an error, which he would do, if he was not really authorised by Le Brun. He solemnly protested that he was, and having some reason to believe that he had been pressed to make use of my agency by Le Brun, I communicated the information to Mr. Pitt, that a person was in town who had a matter of importance relative to the two countries to communicate to him. I was requested to name him, but this I declined, until I had a positive assurance that he would be received,* and a rendezvous given; but before the meeting took place, I again pressed the person not to deceive me, that it would prevent my interference again, and defeat the very purpose it was his wish to obtain. I stated the ridicule he would draw on himself, and the anger he would incur, if he was not really authorised by

* Vide Appendix, No. II.

the

the executive council to requeſt the interview I had obtained for him—that there was ſufficient time to obtain inſtructions, and that the interview, under pretence of indiſpoſition, might be eaſily poſtponed for a few days, in which a meſſenger might go to Paris and return. Mr. **** again proteſted that he was authoriſed to ſee Mr. Pitt, and we parted.

A confidential perſon of the miniſter ſaw him at my houſe; what I had ſuſpected was then evident, it was not him, but another that was authoriſed to confer with the miniſter, and when this ſecond perſon was produced to Mr. Pitt, he had no more to ſtate, and had as little authority from the executive council to enter into any diſcuſſion as the firſt.* This perſon is the very gentleman whom Mr. Fox has poſitively and invariably aſſerted came over to treat with miniſters, and that miniſters refuſed to ſee him.

The miſſion of M. Maret to England at this time related ſolely to the domeſtic concerns of the late Duke of Orleans; and it is a juſtice due to the integrity of the former, to ſay, that he never pretended to have had any other. It is alſo a juſtice due to this gentleman to declare, that he was ſtrenuouſly againſt the war, and as anxious as it was poſſible to preſerve a good un-

* Vide Appendix, No. III.

derſtanding between the two nations. He had a ſincere unaffected reſpect for the Engliſh nation, and was well calculated to have prevented, by his conciliatory and engaging diſpoſition, the fatal extremity to which both countries have been driven, if he had been allowed to return, after his interview with Mr. Pitt, charged with full powers to diſcuſs the important objects which irritated the two nations to madneſs.

I do not know upon what authority Mr. Fox has taken upon him to charge, in direct terms, the miniſter with a decided averſion to enter into an amicable diſcuſſion with the French government, of the matters that ſeemed offenſive to both, previous to the unfortunate conteſt that inſued. Mr. Fox had the means of better information, if M. Chauvelin had been either faithful to his truſt, or explicit; and to have gone upon random report; to have brought a charge againſt a miniſter, which, if true, ſhould render him reſponſible as far as his forfeit life can atone for crimes ſo great, for all the blood that has been ſhed, and the millions that have been ſquandered, without ſtrong and ſufficient evidence of the fact, may be the vile expedient of a diſtreſſed and hungry faction, impatient to get into office, upon any terms, and by any means; but it is unworthy of a great and dignified mind aſpiring to the government of a vaſt empire, and fully ca-

pable of conducting its various complicated intereſts. Whatever may have been the ſources of Mr. Fox's information; whoever may have been his correſpondents, either in this country or in France, I will take upon me to aſſert, and I have it under the hand of the party,* whoſe anger for expoſing his letters, I will hazard in a cauſe ſo juſt, and truſt to his generoſity for pardoning, what under any other circumſtances, or from any other motive, would have been a groſs indecorum. I am ſatisfied from the manner in which M. Maret has always expreſſed himſelf of Mr. Pitt, that he would have authoriſed the publication of the letter I have produced, and done juſtice to the cordiality with which he was received, and to the pacific ſentiments of the miniſter, at the conference into which he was betrayed.

I have already ſtated that the perſon who had repeatedly applied to me to obtain an interview with the miniſter, under repeated aſſurances that he had a communication to make from the executive council, had no ſuch authority. I have alſo ſtated, that the perſon whom he produced when the rendezvous was given, was M. Maret, and that M. Maret had as little authority as his friend; and on penetrating through this intrigue, I had reaſon to be offended at the falſehood

* Vide Appendix, No. IV.

practiſed

practiſed upon me in the firſt inſtance, and on the miniſter in the ſecond. In conſequence of this deceit, the cauſe of which I will explain at a future period, I wrote to Le Brun, and to the party that had impoſed upon me; M. Maret, in a letter dated Paris, January 11, 1793, in anſwer to a warm remonſtrance on the conduct of his friend, very candidly acknowledges that he was neither a ſecret agent, nor charged with any miſſion. (Vide Appendix, No. IV.)

That ſuch was not his object is certainly true, and I have his authority for aſſerting, that Mr. Pitt acknowledged it would give him great pleaſure to "*treat with him* (M. Maret) *as a confidential* "*perſon from the French executive council.*" This certainly did not look like an inſolent contempt of the French nation, or an unwillingneſs on the part of the miniſter to treat with the French government. M. Maret was ſo well pleaſed with his reception, that he fully expected to have been authoriſed, by the return of the courier, whom he diſpatched to Paris, to treat confidentially with government; and if he had acted with leſs frankneſs towards M. Chauvelin; if he had not informed the French envoy, already alarmed, and jealous of every Frenchman that arrived, of the interview, it is very probable that Le Brun would have acceded to the ſolicitations of M. Maret; but M. Chauvelin, jealous that a con-

a conference ſhould have been granted, and apprehenſive that he would be ſupplanted, counteracted the projects of the man whom he conſidered as his rival, and exerted himſelf ſo ſucceſsfully on the firſt information of what had happened, that the anſwer tranſmitted from the executive council contained a ſevere reprimand, and forbidding M. Maret, in rather angry terms, to enter into any explanation whatever, or even to ſpeak to Mr. Pitt on the ſubject of public affairs, ordered him to refer the Engliſh miniſter to M. Chauvelin, who was furniſhed with the proper explanations, and to return to Paris immediately. He was at my houſe when the diſpatch arrived, and I read it with the more ſurpriſe and indignation, on finding that Le Brun had reported to the convention, that Mr. Pitt, alarmed, had ſolicited an interview with the ſecret agents of the executive council in England, but that he (Le Brun) had expreſsly forbidden them to have any communication with the Engliſh miniſter, but to refer him to the ambaſſador of the republic.

It was in conſequence of this report, as inſolent as it was unjuſt, that I wrote to Le Brun,* that he might retract an error in which I found myſelf involved, and which altered very materially

* Vide Appendix, No. V.

the

the position of the two governments, and might have a very mischievous influence on their respective proceedings. I will submit it to the candor of Mr. Fox, to say whether Le Brun, if he had been well disposed towards this country, would have so scandalously misinterpreted that conference; or if the executive council would have permitted it, if they had not been well inclined to irritate and provoke ministers into a contest, and which it was the firm belief in Paris would instantly occasion a revolt throughout this country?

This I aver as a fact, and so fully assured were the French of the fact, so fatally deceived had they been, either by bad men of their own country, or bad men in this, that one of the secret agents, for there were a constant supply of them, assured me, that "*such was the actual state of* "*Great Britain, that we did not dare to call out* "*the militia.*" If I had reason to be offended with the first report of Le Brun, I had much more cause of displeasure at the second; nor did I till this epoch despair of peace, notwithstanding my letters from Paris were calculated to prepare me for an event which my friends foresaw was inevitable.* The whole of M. Le Brun's conduct throughout this correspondence, was marked with such strong duplicity, and such

* Vide Appendix, No. VI.

evident

evident averſion to an amicable arrangement with this country. He was ſo eager to ſeize on every trifling occurrence, and to make the moſt of every trifling event, that, incenſed at his perſiſting to inflame the people againſt this country, I wrote a very ſevere reproof to the perſon whom I conſidered as the cauſe of the errors into which Le Brun, Briſſot, and others had fallen, and eſpecially as I found the French Miniſter obſtinately reſolved to bring forward the falſhood of which I complained, on every occaſion where he thought it would anſwer his purpoſe.

It is rather extraordinary that there ſhould be ſuch little agreement on this occaſion between the declarations of M. Le Brun, and the aſſertions of Mr. Fox. The former of theſe gentlemen goes to the French convention in the character of ſecretary of ſtate, and exultingly tells them that the Engliſh miniſter, humbled and alarmed, has provoked a conference with the ſecret agents of the republic in London, but that they had been forbidden to enter into any diſcuſſion with him on public affairs; while the latter gentleman as obſtinately maintains that Mr. Pitt refuſed to ſee a perſon who had been ſent over on purpoſe to treat with him, and which that perſon as peremptorily denies.*

* Vide Appendix, No. IV.

It does not become me to decide which of the two gentlemen on this occaſion is worthy of credit. Mr. Fox is equally unfortunate in aſcribing the war to the miniſter, and no leſs ſo in aſſerting, that the French nation was diſpoſed to peace. If he will give himſelf the trouble to refer to the Appendix, No. I. he will find a contrary diſpoſition announced, even in November, 1792, and if any credit is due to the information of M. Maret, it will be ſeen that England only furniſhed one cauſe of war in the abuſive language of two gentlemen in the Houſe of Commons, (Meſſrs. Burke and Windham) while France was ſtimulated to quarrel with us by her enthuſiaſm and her victories; by her pride, by her courage, and by her reſources, all of which M. Maret very candidly acknowledges, on the 5th of January, 1793, are the great obſtacles that he finds to an amicable arrangement, but which he oppoſes with a boldneſs and a freedom worthy of his talents and his virtues.* The day previous to his writing to me I had written to him, and my letter proves that it was to the folly, or ſomething worſe, of Le Brun, that I imputed the war, which it was eaſy to foreſee was inevitable.† I have other documents in my poſſeſſion, which all tend to prove that France was too much intoxicated with her ſucceſs, and too confident that ſhe was invincible, to keep any meaſures with a nation whom it was

* Vide Appendix, No. VII. † Vide Appendix, No. VIII.

her

her misfortune to behold in no other light than as a very powerful neighbour and rival, and whom ſhe thought it was neceſſary to humble, if not to cruſh. As January advanced, my hopes of peace decreaſed, yet my efforts were continued, and in conſequence of a communication from M. Le Brun, accompanied by a number of queſtions, I wrote to him on the 2d of January, 1793,* very fully in anſwer to all that had been demanded.

My letter, dated the 11th of January,† was another exhortation to peace, in the vain hope, that Le Brun would have ſeen by my repeated remonſtrances, how very much his own fortunes depended on the preſervation of peace, independent of far more important conſiderations. Diſheartened at the gloomy proſpect, and offended at his duplicity and raſhneſs, I wrote to him for the laſt time, on the 18th of the ſame month, and cloſed a fruitleſs correſpondence with him for ever.‡ I did not, however, renounce all intercourſe with M. Maret, in whom I had the ſatisfaction to behold united great talents with great frankneſs, and a very ardent and unaffected wiſh that the two nations ſhould live in peace and amity. The wiſeſt courſe that this country could have taken, and the policy to which ſhe long ſince ſhould have reſorted, was an alliance

* Vide Appendix, No. IX. † Vide Appendix, No. X.
‡ Vide Appendix, No. XI.

with France. It was the wiſh of ſeveral with with whom I had lived in habits of intimacy, and a meaſure that I took the liberty to ſuggeſt to Mr. Pitt in 1786, when the commercial treaty was under conſideration;* whether an union ſo deſirable in itſelf, and ſo neceſſary to the intereſt, not only of the two nations, but of

* I do not arrogate to myſelf the merit of this idea, although it had ſtruck me as politic and practicable early in 1781. It was evident, that if ſuch an union could be affected between the two greateſt nations in Europe, that the peace of the world would be aſſured for ever, and that both countries would be at liberty to cultivate the arts of peace; in the courſe of my rambles on the continent I met, in 1785, with a French nobleman who was on the eve of coming over from the French miniſter, the Duc d'Aiguillon, (father to the preſent Duke) ſoon after the peace of 1763, with a ſimilar project to our government. He had the goodneſs to tell me the outline of the meditated alliance, and as a proof of the ſincerity of the French Court, and to avoid giving any cauſe of jealouſy to England, France would have offered to limit her navy to fifty ſail of ſhips of war. A change of councils prevented this offer being made, and with the permiſſion of the perſon who communicated it to me, I ſent the account to Mr. Pitt. Would to heaven he had adopted the idea! It is a lamentable reflection that the two greateſt, and by far the moſt civilized and intelligent nations in Europe, ſhould live in rancorous and perpetual hoſtility to each other, contrary to their own happineſs and intereſt, contrary to the happineſs and intereſt, perhaps, of all the world! That a wiſer policy may reſpectively influence their future councils, and that they may ſoon ceaſe to be enemies, will ever be the ardent prayer of a man who offers his reflections to the world, for perhaps the the laſt time, on a variety of topics, which have long engaged his attention, and whoſe wiſh it ever has been, that mankind ſhould be free and happy!

all

all Europe, will ever be realiſed, I know not, but if ever this country ſhould feel the importance of ſuch an union, and take any ſtep towards it, I feel aſſured that it will meet with every aſſiſtance from M. Maret, who, reſcued by the valor of his countrymen from the power of a deſpot, and returned to France, may hereafter, perhaps, have the glory of happily accompliſhing, what he moſt ardently wiſhed, and unſucceſsfully attempted in 1792. This is not only a tribute of private perſonal regard, but of truth due to his philanthropy and talents.*

Having demonſtrated that this gentleman, by his own confeſſion, had no miſſion to the Britiſh government, nor any authority to treat with Mr. Pitt at the period that the interview took place between them, it only remains to ſpeak of his journey to this country towards the latter end of January 1793, when alone he could be ſaid to have been authoriſed to make any propoſitions, and here I will admit the ſtatement of Mr. Fox to be correct, as far as it relates to the *miſſion* of M. Maret, but that all intercourſe with him was refuſed by the King's ſervants, I poſitively deny, and for the beſt of all poſſible reaſons, becauſe it had never been ſolicited. On the ſame authority that I contradicted the former aſſertion, I deny this. The authority of M. Maret, who

* The neutrality of the Swiſs territory was indecently as well as impolitically violated, and the perſon of this gentleman and that of M. Semonville illegally ſeized, on their way to Naples and Conſtantinople.

may

may certainly be allowed to know as much of the matter as thoſe who on ſuch little foundation, have ſo repeatedly urged it in Parliament as a fact worthy of its attention, worthy its higheſt cenſure, and which if true, would juſtify the ſevereſt puniſhment that national vengeance could inflict on a guilty miniſter. That M. Maret was diſpatched to England preparatory to the projected embaſſy of M. Dumourier, who, inveſted with full powers, was finally to have arranged all differences and to have returned immediately, is moſt certainly true, and it is worthy of obſervation, that on the very day, and I believe at the very hour, that M. Chauvelin ſet off for Paris, M. Maret departed for London. Apprehenſive that the ſudden appearance of M. Chauvelin in the Convention, aggravated by inflammatory miſrepreſentations, would make it neceſſary for the executive council to change the inſtructions they had given, and, impreſſed with this idea, M. Maret wrote to Le Brun, *that he ſhould not deſire an interview with the Engliſh miniſter, until freſh inſtructions arrived.* His ſtay in London was eight days, and it was on his landing at Dover, that he wrote, in very preſſing terms, to the executive council for theſe inſtructions. The only official notice that Lord Grenville had of M. Maret's arrival in town, was a note merely to appriſe his Lordſhip, that he (M. Maret) had come over to take charge of the

diplomatic papers in the houſe of the French envoy. This was all the intercourſe that paſſed, and all the communication that was made to any of his Majeſty's miniſters, except a letter, which was ſent by M. Maret at the inſtant of his final departure from London, addreſſed to Lord Grenville.

It is a juſtice due to the unaffected anxiety of M. Maret for peace, to ſay, that he deprecated the fatal obſtinacy and ſilence of the executive council; and on our taking leave of each other, at midnight, previous to his departure, he expreſſed the deepeſt concern at not having received a ſingle line or direction during the whole time of his ſtay in England. My wiſh was, that he ſhould have paid no attention to the departure of M. Chauvelin, but to have been guided by the inſtructions he had, and this I inceſſantly urged to him every day; it was a line of conduct that I would have obſerved, under ſimilar circumſtances, in order to preſerve, if poſſible, a communication; but the fact was, M. Maret had very little to ſay, and that little was partly rendered unimportant by ſubſequent occurrences; this plain fact, however, is clearly evident, that if the executive council had not been reſolved to avoid all explanation with this country, it would, as they had a confidential perſon on the ſpot, and charged with

with a particular miſſion, have availed themſelves of his miniſtry to have preſerved, if poſſible, a good underſtanding between the two countries; and what gives additional force to this conjecture is, that one of the offences for which Le Brun ſuffered death, was that of having involved his country in a war with England, and this ſentence of the French nation againſt their own miniſter I hold to be a virtual acquittal of the Engliſh one.*

I ſhould ſuppoſe that M. Maret was to the full as likely to know whether Mr. Pitt declined all intercourſe with him, as Mr. Fox, and if the teſtimony of the firſt gentleman, whoſe veracity I have no reaſon to queſtion, is entitled to credit, the charges ſo indecently urged againſt the ſecond by the third, fall inſtantly to the ground, and under ſuch circumſtances of odium and ſuſpicion, that muſt make him bluſh at having aſſerted what has been ſo completely refuted. When the raſh meaſure which gave a triumph to M. Chauvelin, and a wound to both nations, put an end to all negotiation, I wrote a letter † to one of the very few agents of the executive council, with whom I lived in habits of intimacy, and whoſe ardor to preſerve peace equalled my own. He was one of the very few who exerted

* It was alſo *one* of the charges againſt Briſſot, and for which he ſuffered death.

† Vide Appendix, No. XII.

themſelves

themſelves to reſcue the executive council from that deluſion in which it was artfully kept, and which may be ſeen by the reports of Le Brun* to the Convention; all France was perſuaded that a general revolt throughout this country would inſtantly follow a declaration of war, and I will do juſtice to the underſtanding of Le Brun, by ſaying that I firmly believe, that this deluſion was a very great ſtimulus to the war that enſued. Ruminating upon the additional ſcenes of horror into which Europe was by this fatally wild and atrocious act to be deeper plunged; combining the various threats which had been thrown out in various ways, and the impudent reflections on the known loyalty of the Britiſh nation, with the afflictions of the fatherleſs, and of the widows whom hoſtilities would throw on the cold charity of the world, I endeavoured to alleviate the afflictions of the latter, and to repel the injurious ſlanders of the former, by opening a ſubſcription for the relief of the widows and children of ſuch ſoldiers and ſeamen who ſhould fall in the conteſt. It was the ſuggeſtion of the moment in the courſe of a converſation with an only child, over our humble and evening repaſt;† the idea

* M. Le Brun not only accounced that we were on the eve of an inſurrection, but threatened to appeal to the people againſt their government, in the criminal hope of ſetting the former againſt the latter.

† Vide Appendix, No. XIII.

was adopted, and a meeting held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, and to give it all poſſible publicity, I wrote circular letters to the magiſtrates in the great towns throughout the three kingdoms, to the commanding flag officers at all the ſea ports, to the commiſſioners at the dock yards, and to all the officers on the impreſs ſervice. The gentlemen at Lloyd's Coffee-houſe, with a munificence worthy of the firſt city in the world, adopted, on the firſt ſuggeſtion, a ſimilar idea, with a view to reward valor and patriotiſm in the naval ſervice of their country; and I feel an honeſt pride in declaring that the ſtate of both funds, preſent the moſt flattering proofs of the wealth and ſplendid liberality of the Britiſh nation. Having vindicated the miniſter, and I truſt ſucceſsfully, from the charge of having declined all intercourſe with M. Maret, and of having involved the country in war; I truſt this act of common juſtice, due to truth as well as to Mr. Pitt, will not be attributed by the gentlemen who are not in the habits of ſocial intercourſe with him, or who do not ſupport him in the Houſe of Commons, to any motive but the one that I have this inſtant aſſigned. If they do, it will be an injuſtice that will affect my reputation much leſs than their own, and occaſion me no other regret, than that they ſhould have ſo very much forgotten what they owe more to themſelves than to me.

I do

I do not think ill of Mr. Fox becauſe he is in oppoſition to Mr. Pitt; I would as little condemn the former when he is in the right, as I would ſupport the latter when he is in the wrong. Both theſe men are but ſhrubs on the vaſt plain, and would never have been known but for the accident that tranſplanted them from the crowd; miniſters are not to be looked at diſtinctly from their meaſures, nor their meaſures diſtinctly from the conſtitution. They are all to be viewed, examined, and judged of together, not ſeparately, but by the relation which they have to truth, to common ſenſe, and to the common intereſts of all. I have no other rule to go by; but if perſonal affection is permitted to decide or influence our judgment on the conduct of public men, in the high and important concerns of public truſt and duty; if we are to eſtimate their integrity and their capacities by the conviviality or the facility of their tempers, or their liberality in complimenting their followers and dependants with what was intruſted to them for far different purpoſes, adieu to public virtue—adieu to all fair and honeſt pretenſions—adieu to that great and powerful check, which even bad men feel, when they know that others are not as ſervile or as corrupt as they are unprincipled. There may, perhaps, be much warmth in my writings; a warmth approaching even to intemperance, but my writings are as far removed from perverſity, as

they are from venality, and ſhall never have the miſerable intereſts of party for their object.

I feel no ambition to be aſſociated with thoſe time-ſerving pamphleteers who write for the purpoſe of keeping one faction in office, or of driving another out; ſtill leſs will I deſerve to be confounded with that deſpicable banditti of itinerant ſcribblers who compel timid virtue to ranſom itſelf from unmerited ſlander, or that exacts from the pockets of ſplendid infamy the price of that ſilence which ſecures it from public ſhame. Let theſe men derive a guilty maintenance by ſuch foul and diſhonourable means; let them riſe from bankruptcy to affluence by the iniquitous contributions they forcibly levy on private families, as the purchaſe of domeſtic felicity and repoſe; while the former deſcription of writers, leſs atrocious perhaps, but not leſs miſchievous than the latter, having no fixed principles of civil government in their own minds, do no great violence to their feelings, or injury to their characters, by alternately appearing as the champions of liberty, or the apoſtles of deſpotiſm, as either may happen to accord with the intereſts of their reſpective employers.

In the hiſtory of Mr. Fox's public life, I ſee much to bewail, and little to admire; while the dawn and meridian of his happier rival has more to exhilerate, and leſs to offend, than uſually falls to the

the lot of men in high official truſt. Before the country finally pronounces its irrevocable fiat on the fame of Mr. Pitt, it is incumbent on its juſtice to recal thoſe periods of his adminiſtration which diſplayed the greateſt energy, combined with the pureſt patriotiſm, and above all, of the two periods which obtained him thoſe triumphs, which are alone worthy of a mind rich in its own reſources, and conſcious of its rectitude; it is incumbent on the juſtice of the country to recal to its remembrance that period, when it was happily reſcued from a coalition* that diſhonoured it in the firſt inſtance, and would

* If I had been perſonally the enemy of Mr. Fox, or if I had a malice to indulge, the late conteſt for Weſtminſter would have gratified me to the fulleſt extent.

Placed between the two candidates, he was compelled to diſown both, not with the conſiſtent dignity of manhood, but from the aukward dilemma in which he was placed by the oppoſite principles of his rivals; his former habits naturally inclined him to the court candidate, but popularity, that has jilted him through life, forbid the banns, and beckoned him to Horne Tooke, who, conſidering him as a penitent, would have given him abſolution for paſt offences, and received him within the pale of his religion. The Admiral, far leſs civil, returned his kindneſs with the cold and inſulting offer of a negative preference, "*I will accept of you, Sir, if I cannot get a better.*"—Such was the diſtreſſing and afflicting ſituation of Mr. Fox on the huſtings at Covent-garden: motionleſs, like the pendulum of a clock when the weights are down, fixed to the centre, inert and without power to move to either ſide, he ſtood, a monument of pride mortified, and ambition humbled! The whole of

would have enſlaved it in the ſecond; it is incumbent on its juſtice to turn back to that awful, that melancholy

of this election was a whimſical exhibition of the hiſtory of paſt and preſent times; but the circumſtance in which it differs moſt from all other elections, and that too in their moſt eſſential part, was, that the candidate who is not returned, has the honour of the triumph. The victory, in fact, neither belongs to Sir Alan Gardner, nor to Mr. Fox—it is excluſively Mr. Tooke's. His more fortunate opponents have met with defeat, not conqueſt, and however much the ſucceſsful candidates may exult upon the occaſion, I aver that there is in the iſſue of this buſineſs, matter that calls moſt imperiouſly on miniſters to look before them. Truths that are unpleaſant, are ſometimes apt to offend. I believe thoſe that it has fallen to my lot to publiſh, have been altogether of that deſcription, although my intention has been to ſerve, not offend; but where the internal tranquillity of an entire nation is concerned, forms are not only impertinent, but dangerous. I aver it again, that the triumph in this election belongs excluſively to Mr. Tooke. It is a triumph of ſuch a nature that it anticipates hiſtory, and enables Miniſters to read poſſible events not yet arrived, in which they may be perſonally intereſted. Take the fact as it is—a private gentleman without a fortune equal to a conteſt, offers himſelf as a candidate for a ſeat in Parliament, in oppoſition to two other gentlemen who have a ſufficient ſtock of popularity ariſing from their reſpective merits, to juſtify their claim to the diſtinction they ſolicit; in addition to theſe ſtrong perſonal recommendations to the favour of the electors, theſe gentlemen belong to the two great leading parties in the country, who may be ſaid to have monopolized its adminiſtration, and are moſt powerfully ſupported by both: and what is a ſingular circumſtance in this election, both theſe candidates, who are as hoſtile to each other as poſſible, feel, however, a common intereſt in excluding the third candidate. Sir Alan Gardner expreſsly ſaid, "I would rather

melancholy period, when with one accord it muzzled the young maſtiff that would have ſnapped the hand that

rather have Mr. Fox than Mr. Tooke:" this laſt gentleman was happily relieved from the neceſſity of making any ſuch declaration, and the ſilence of Mr. Fox upon the occaſion was a meaſure of prudence, from the circumſtance of his being compelled to keep well with the friends of the other candidates, whoſe *other* vote was abſolutely neceſſary to enſure him ſucceſs. The friends of Mr. Tooke would rather have Mr. Fox for his colleague, than the Admiral; the friends of the Admiral ſaid the ſame of Mr. Fox; but I do not believe that the friends in general of this gentleman were ſo well diſpoſed to the popular, as to the court candidate; yet after polling for a fortnight, the candidate without any of the powerful ſupport which his rivals derived from their ſituation, credit, and connections—ſtanding ſolely on his own pretenſions, and ſupported by his great abilities, obnoxious to the party in power, and very far from being a favourite with the party that is out; the whole court, and the whole force of government exerted againſt him; all the great families, with their numerous dependants, employing all their influence to exclude him:—yet with all theſe great and various combinations of claſhing intereſts, united for the moment againſt him as their common foe, Mr. Tooke found near three thouſand people in Weſtminſter well diſpoſed to depute him their repreſentative to Parliament. There is more in this event than meets the eye. If he had poſſeſſed any one of the reſources of his opponents, or even if fear had not operated againſt him on the minds of dependent men, it is not Sir Alan Gardner, but Mr. Tooke, that would have been declared duly elected by the returning officer.

If Miniſters feel that this nettle has a ſting, and ſuffer from the ſmart, it is their own fault; the man whom they thought a pigmy, eaſily to be cruſhed by the giant arm of power, has riſen

ſed him; when the manly dignified reſiſtance of the Miniſter to a claim neither decent nor juſt, reſcued

riſen triumphant from the blow, and ſtands a coloſſus above them. I know very little of Mr. Tooke; he has not ſeen me, by his own confeſſion, ſince I was a boy, and I have never had any communication with him ſince that period, either directly or indirectly; but I reſpect his abilities, and when well directed, they reflect equal honour on himſelf, his country, and the age we live in. On the ſubject of his guilt or innocence when arraigned at the Old Bailey, on a charge of high treaſon, I have nothing to ſay. He has been abſolved by the laws of his country, and the deciſion will be reſpected by all thoſe who have a proper reſpect for thoſe laws. It was a poor and pitiful revenge, a revenge that argued equal impotency and malice, to call him an acquitted felon. It was an inſult to the jury that pronounced the verdict, for it implied that they had perjured themſelves. The event of this and the other proſecutions of the ſame kind, ſhould teach Miniſters caution, for indictments of this deſcription of high treaſon, ſhould never be preferred without ſtrong and ſufficient evidence of guilt; for when charges of this nature are not brought home to the full conviction of thoſe who are to decide upon them, government becomes weakened, not ſtrengthened, and loſes ſubjects in a much larger proportion than it would have made victims. The accuſed party returns to the attack with redoubled vigour, authoriſed in ſome degree by the very laws which were to have conſigned him to the gibbet; he comes back to the charge with a much greater and a far dearer intereſt in its iſſue than ever; he comes back armed with a perſonal revenge for a perſonal injury, levelled at his character and life; and, humanity entirely out of the queſtion, it argues little diſcretion in the government that expoſes itſelf to the conſequences of ſuch a defeat. It is one of thoſe conteſts which admits of no compromiſe. There is no qualifying medium, no middle courſe or way, where the two parties can meet, explain, ſhake hands, and be friends; on

the

reſcued it a ſecond time from a worſe than Egyptian bondage, and gave the people an additional ſecurity

the contrary, they are bitter irreconcileable enemies for ever. The verdict of guilty or not guilty leaves nothing in view but life or death, diſgrace or triumph. The man who puts an halter round the neck of another, moſt probably means to ſtrangle him; and if it ſhould appear in the event, that he had no right over his life, it will hardly be ſaid that he has any to his gratitude or affection.

I do not know what Lord Loughborough had in view in adviſing thoſe proſecutions, which turned out ſo beneficial to thoſe whom they were meant to deſtroy, and ſo unfortunate for government. But the attorney general muſt have known that the evidence he had was not ſufficient to enſure conviction, and unleſs conviction was brought home to the parties, Miniſters ſhould have known that the cauſe of government muſt be injured. In a word, ſtates ſhould never war with their own ſubjects, without the certainty of victory; the more prudent line would be, not to hazard a defeat, by provoking an unneceſſary conteſt.

I have no doubt but there are many men in this country whoſe minds are ill diſpoſed towards its government, it would be affectation to diſſemble what cannot well be denied; if the abuſes in the government juſtify complaint, they ſhould be corrected, or they will become weapons of very dangerous potency in the hands of thoſe, whoſe object is *to march to "Windſor, inſtead of halting at Hounſlow."*

It is the common error of all governments, whether free or deſpotic, to prefer ſyſtem to expediency, and to ſpurn good council until it is too late to profit by it. The penury of its reſources is overlooked or forgotten in the rich diſplay of preſent means. They forget that their ſtrength is not their own, and that a war

ſecurity for thoſe liberties which it is their proud boaſt they hold not from the bounty of the ſovereign, but by right divine! Nor has Mr. Pitt been leſs attentive to the commerce and revenues of his country, than to its internal tranquillity and the conſtitutional rights of the people. He has a large and voluminous account of high and important public ſervices to plead: his deſtroying the coalition; his firmneſs in the affair of the regency, which ſecured to virtue the triumph ſhe deſerved, and ſaved the empire; his commercial treaty; the whole of his arrangements reſpecting a ſiſter kingdom; his conſolidation act; his meaſures to reſtrain a clandeſtine traffic, that drove the fair trader from all competition, and materially injured the public revenue; together with the whole of his vaſt

with the people cuts off the reſources by which that ſtrength is fed, ſuſtained, and vivified. I do not like to ſee even the appearance of ill humour between the government and the people, much leſs ſquabbles and acrimonious diſputes. They ſhould live in affectionate and confidential relation with each other, diſplaying the edifying, animating ſpectacle to ſurrounding nations of a mind united and indiſſolubly bound together for ever; agreeing ever conſtantly and purſuing cordially, ardently, and ſucceſsfully, the ſame objects. Their intereſts are the ſame, and wedded to each other, their attachment ſhould be ſtrong, mutual, and eternal; for they have no civil law to reſort to in caſe of diſagreement; no alimony; no ſeparation *à menſa et thoro*; but a final irrevocable ruinous divorce to one party, without the poſſibility of ſeeking happineſs, conſolation, or refuge in a ſecond marriage, while full power remains to the other to chuſe again, and take another venture.

vaſt and complicated ſyſtem of finance, the great objects of which were to extinguiſh the national debt and to ameliorate the condition of the people by relieving them from the intolerable burthens which oppreſs and curb them to the earth. What account had his opponents to preſent, or that could poſſibly come in compariſon with ſo many proud claims to national confidence and applauſe? None! What was the folio of his adverſary? "A blank, my Lord!" a ſoul, dark leaf;—black beyond the complexion of Erebus!

Such were the dignified pretenſions of Mr. Pitt to the confidence of his country; ſuch the grand career in which he was proceeding with a rapidity worthy of the exalted mind of his father; worthy of the mild, beneficent, and extenſive projects he had propoſed, when the French revolution, in an ill-fated moment, as if deviſed by malice to blaſt his fame and curſe this land, deſtroyed his hopes for ever! My pen falls from my hand, my faculties are ſuſpended, and I dare not contemplate the vaſt ruin of his fame and fortune! for ruined they are paſt redemption, if he does not inſtantly recede: not by paltry intrigue, the weak reſource of little minds, but by an entire change of ſyſtem, ſomething ſimilar to that propoſed by Mr. Fox, whoſe advice in what relates to continental politics, he will do well to follow. Mr. Pitt has

been the worſt of prodigals, for he has allowed a legion of adventurers to trade upon a popularity all his own; he has lent them his credit, not to improve his fortunes, but to bankrupt them; not to exalt his fame, but to blaſt it; and will he allow thoſe men to traffic with the poor remnant they have left him, until his name loſes all currency? O God! that a man who was once ſo high, ſo deſervedly high, ſhould have fallen ſo low! He hangs ſuſpended mid-way down a precipice, on whoſe proud ſummit he ſtood erect, the arbiter of Europe and the world! He dare not contemplate the ſtupendous height from whence he has fallen; his ſenſes would forſake him, and all below him is darkneſs, horror, and deſpair! A manly avowal of his errors, accompanied by a determined reſolution to correct the multiplied miſchiefs reſulting from obſtinacy, inexperience, and deluſion, may yet reſtore to him a portion of what he has unhappily loſt: he ſtill poſſeſſes a ſuperiority over his rival, which the ſituation of the country requires ſhould be huſbanded, not ſquandered; not that I wiſh them to remain in battle array, drawn out in direct hoſtility to each other; for this is not a moment to trifle, the deſtiny of the nation is in ſome ſort in their hands: my wiſh is to ſee them united, not divided; their common ſafety requires it; the ſafety of the country depends upon it, for the

country

country is in danger, and other means muſt be reſorted to, if the ſame councils and the ſame meaſures ſhould be perſiſted in. It is vigour, union, and probity among ourſelves, that can alone ſave us; it is time that Mr. Pitt ſhould renounce all the diſgraceful alliances he has formed with madmen and bad men. It is not to decrepid age, that would avariciouſly pilfer for himſelf or his ſon, the laſt guinea from an impoveriſhed country, that a Britiſh Miniſter ſhould look for ſupport at any period, much leſs ſhould wiſdom ally itſelf to phrenzy, and wage war with opinions. It is time that Mr. Pitt ſhould ſeek other reſources than theſe; it is not from the crooked underhand craft of that foul and bitter legacy bequeathed to us in an hapleſs moment by the late Lord Bute, our primal curſe, that good counſel can ever flow; it is not to ſuch a man, whoſe very touch is poiſon, who has wriggled himſelf, God knows how, into the confidence of his ſovereign; and who, conſcious of the odium attached to his name, ſeeks refuge in vain from public opprobrium in the alias of titles, that Mr. Pitt ſhould reſort, under our preſent exigencies, for ſuccour or advice. That man might ſurely be content with the rich paſture and richer harveſt of Lancaſhire, and allow us to compound with him for our ſafety and peace, on the terms we would willingly grant him. It is to other

men

men the Miniſter ſhould reſort in this awful, this eventful moment. It is to *retrenchments*, and not to *intrenchments*, that he muſt have recourſe, to ſave the conſtitution. I ſpeak thus harſhly of individuals who have too long influenced our public councils, from the full conviction that innumerable miſchiefs have reſulted from that influence, and the no leſs ſtrong conviction I feel that other men muſt be ſelected and other meaſures adopted, to extricate us from our preſent difficulties. My attachment to eſtabliſhed governments is as ſtrong as my averſion to groſs and flagrant abuſes is great; nor will that attachment be queſtioned but by thoſe who have an intereſt in the preſervation of thoſe abuſes, or who are ſervilely devoted to party, inſtead of the proſperity of their country. My love of order and of peace will ever incline me to give the executive authority every ſupport in my power, and though I am very far from approving of all the meaſures of government, I cannot attribute the errors which threaten to render the latter part of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration as gloomy and afflicting, as its meridan was brilliant and happy, to the motives which have been aſcribed to him. It has proved a very ſerious calamity to the nation that its Miniſter has never travelled, or received, from obſervation and perſonal intercourſe with foreign princes and their miniſters, a knowledge of their characters and of their

views.

views. His information on the ſubject of foreign politics muſt neceſſarily be circumſcribed and compelled to receive information at *ſecond hand*, and ſometimes from the very worſt kind of ſecond hand, it ought not to ſurpriſe us, if he has been deceived, or even miſled, by men who had an intereſt in degrading him in the public opinion to a level with themſelves. If he had made the tour of Europe, or if he had only viſited a few of the foreign Courts and mixing with foreigners, had adapted himſelf to their eaſy habits and manners, he would have acquired more uſeful knowledge in twelve months, than the correſpondence of the whole corps diplomatic could furniſh in as many centuries. Men muſt live with men to know them; not in diſtant form and viſiting by cards, but by that ſocial intercourſe in which the offices of friendſhip are mutually given and received, and which inſpire confidence, while they conciliate eſteem. A knowledge of foreign courts acquired by ſuch means would have been of ineſtimable value to the Miniſter and the nation, but as Mr. Pitt, unfortunately for himſelf and much more ſo for his country, has never had this advantage, it ſhould have been his care to ſelect thoſe only for foreign miſſions, who have talents, diſcernment, prudence, probity, and a turn for buſineſs. Men of induſtry as well as of abilities, in whoſe truth and vigilance he could confide.—

Such

Such a ſelection would have been neceſſary, even if he had reſided at foreign courts as many years as he has lived in the world. It is not altogether Mr. Pitt's fault if he has not always made ſuch a ſelection. I firmly believe that he has been compelled in a variety of inſtances to cede to imperious neceſſity, and that parliamentary influence has frequently made him act contrary to his better judgment. This reproach does not belong excluſively to him, but to all Miniſters; his predeceſſors have been forced to yield to this humiliating neceſſity; and it is an acknowledged truth, that if the preſent oppoſition were to come into office to-morrow, they would be obliged to adopt and follow the ſame practice, or go out of it the day after. Such is the actual degraded ſtate of our repreſentation; ſuch the evident and imperious neceſſity for that reform, which Mr. Pitt ſtands pledged and bound in honor to accompliſh; yet as the oppoſition, even by their own confeſſion, would be under the neceſſity of recurring to the ſame means, and of conducting the public buſineſs on the ſame principle as the preſent and former adminiſtrations, what advantage would the nation derive from a change? This is a fair and honeſt queſtion, ariſing from facts before the judgment of the world, and I propoſe it, not to thoſe who expect employments at home or miſſions abroad; it is not to pharo men, gamblers, and adventurers

that I addreſs this queſtion, but to the really independent gentlemen, who in Parliament or out of it, oppoſe from conſcientious, honorable motives the meaſures of the miniſter with a view to benefit their country; of ſuch men I aſk, what good will reſult to the countries which they love and whoſe proſperity they would enſure, what œconomy there would be in a change of Miniſters if the ſame pernicious and expenſive ſyſtem; if the ſame diſhonourable parliamentary traffic muſt be continued in order to carry on the public buſineſs? Under circumſtances ſo afflicting, and no leſs true than lamentable, what good would the people derive from a change? In what degree would their ſituation be meliorated, or the country benefitted when the ſucceſſors of the preſent men in power would not dare to depart from the ſame corrupt manners of their predeceſſors? On the ſcore of œconomy we can have nothing to hope from ſuch a change; and as Mr. Fox would be compelled to travel in the deep and filthy rut with which the road has been torn, cut up, and ſpoilt by indolence and incapacity, as well as by vice and profligacy, the country can have no motive to wiſh a uſeleſs unprofitable exchange of mere names; but that it has an abundance of motives for wiſhing a change of meaſures, and that theſe motives are accompanied by a right to demand ſuch a change, will not be conteſted by thoſe who

underſtand the full value of our excellent conſtitution, and who dread its falling a ſacrifice either to deſpotiſm or to anarchy!

There is not a man in the kingdom that does not feel the force of this truth. There is not a man in the kingdom that will not own ſuch a change, can be effected by the preſent Miniſter, as well as by any other; and if he is wiſe, if he has any reſpect for his own engagements, any regard for his own honor, he will not allow ſo glorious an undertaking—an undertaking that the nation expects from his virtue and his talents, to be wreſted from him by others, who may be leſs capable, and in whom the country has certainly leſs confidence. Mr. Pitt cannot have forgotten his promiſe on the terms upon which he was admitted into office, and the fate of his rival ſhould teach him what he may expect by a departure from his word, and a violation of the contract.

It is from the ſincere and unaffected perſonal reſpect which I ſtill have for him; it is from the recollection of the various eſſential ſervices which the country has unqueſtionably derived from the diſplay of his wonderful abilities. It is that my country, to whoſe fortunes I am wedded, ſhould flouriſh to the very end of time, that I am anxious

Mr.

Mr. Pitt ſhould honeſtly and meritoriouſly retain the high poſt he occupies, and that a third epoch ſhould be glorioufly added to his adminiſtration, infinitely more brilliant than the preceding two; a climax at once to his fame and our felicity! It was at a very early period of his life that he came into office; the times were turbulent, the public mind afflicted by public calamity almoſt to deſpondency, was aggravated by having its credulity impoſed upon, and its confidence abuſed by men who had acquired it for purpoſes very different to that they pretended; the tide of faction flowed ſtrong and his great talents with all the zeal, ardour, and integrity, the happy characteriſtics of ingenuous youth, were inſtantly and unavoidably abſorbed in domeſtic political intrigue; that ſink of public and private virtue! Mr. Pitt found himſelf obliged to give into a ſyſtem repugnant to his profeſſions, I ſhould hope to his principles, in order to retain the power he had acquired, and to manage the Houſe of Commons, for as to the Houſe of Lords, their province in the firſt inſtance being of leſs importance, and their venality neither ſo conſpicuous nor ſo great, little oppoſition is given to thoſe whom the repreſentatives of the people propoſe. The one, however, follows the other as the hind wheel of a carriage does the fore one; but the Commons require the inceſſant vigilance of a Miniſter to keep all thoſe

in good humour, who, different to thoſe who are ready to go in harneſs with every Miniſter, either with Mr. Fox or with Mr. Pitt, affect to have opinions of their own, when they only covet the places of others, and who are noiſy and clamorous in proportion as the tide of oppoſition flows ſtrong or weak. Thus involved in domeſtic cabal and entirely unacquainted with the politics of the continent, Mr. Pitt was ill qualified to croſs the channel, and go in ſearch of foreign adventurers.

It is, however, but juſtice to Mr. Pitt to ſay, that in the affair of the Ruſſian buſineſs, the meaſure was wiſe and juſt, and if the nation had known its true intereſts, it would have ſupported him, but little verſed in foreign politics; ſenſible of the advantages reſulting from peace and recently reſcued from a diſaſtrous war, the proſpect of hoſtilities ſpread a general alarm, and Mr. Fox taking advantage of the fears of the Miniſter, as well as of the ignorance of the country, excited the clamor which has ended in the total diſmemberment of Poland, and the ſacrifice of as many lives as would more than ſtock a German principality. An unſucceſsful attempt was made to reſiſt the artful intereſted cry that faction raiſed to drive the Miniſter from the proud eminence he held. It was not generally known to the people

ple in this country, too much occupied with domeſtic politics, and too much engaged in commercial enterpriſes, to examine what was tranſacted at the Court of Vienna, that it was one of the extravagant projects concerted between the late Emperor Joſeph II. and the Empreſs of Ruſſia to annihilate all the ſmall ſtates in Europe, and divide them between three or four great powers. The ambition of the one and the avarice of the other, ſtimulated by jealouſy and envious of the proſperity of Great Britain, looked forward to the Empire of the Black Sea, and as France was to have been joined in the confederacy, to a ſhare in the dominion of the Mediterranean; in a word, they expected to march to London by Conſtantinople, and ruin its trade with India by poſſeſſing themſelves of Egypt; all this was fully detailed at the time, * but unhappily without effect. The clamor proceeded, and the Miniſter, apprehenſive that he had no alternative but to concede or reſign, preferred the former. Mr. Fox took advantage of the moment to repair his ruined fortunes and recover the confidence he had loſt; the hiſtory of that diſgrace-

* Vide "The expediency and juſtice of preſcribing bounds to the Ruſſian Empire." Printed for R. Faulder, Bond-ſtreet, 1791.

dence

ful buſineſs cannot be forgotten or forgiven while the terrible conſequences reſulting from it ſtrike moſt forcibly on our minds, or while our attention is directed to any part of the European Continent. I will not inquire whether the Empreſs of Ruſſia preferred the buſt to the proxy or the proxy to the miſſion, knowing the partiality of her Majeſty for athletics, they might have better ſuited her taſte? neither will I aſk whether the gentleman preferred the miſſion to the ring or the ring to the lady who pilferred it from him at Bruxelles? all theſe are idle queſtions, and would only provoke laughter, but for the ſad remembrance of the matter connected with them. The buſt, the proxy, and the ring would deſerve little notice, they would even have eſcaped obſervation, but for the great and important circumſtances annexed to them. They are mere parachutes, and but for the vaſt balloon which in its rapid aſcent into the high regions of the political atmoſphere expoſed them to our viſion, they would never have been ſeen or heard of.

This balloon, as balloons are apt to do, pleaſed the million. They followed with loud and ruinous acclamation. An attempt was made to recall them to reaſon and reflection, by ſtating to them in detail the ambitious views of the

Court of Peterſburgh; but without effect.* It was a moment for the Miniſter to have diſplayed his firmneſs. He ſhould have ſtood undaunted, one

* The political ſituation of Ruſſia is very different to what it was at the commencement of this century. The old adage of tempora mutantur was never more applicable than it is in the preſent inſtance; and he muſt indeed be a very ſhallow politician who does not feel that ſtates, as well as individuals, muſt adapt their conduct to times and circumſtances. A ſpirit of conqueſt has uniformly marked the conduct of Ruſſia ſince Peter the Firſt laid the foundation of that greatneſs which threatens to overwhelm us. A ſpirit of commercial enterpriſe has joined itſelf to that of conqueſt; and nothing leſs than the full poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople and the Black Sea, at leaſt, will ſatisfy her inordinate ambition. In poſſeſſion of the Euxine at one extremity of Europe, and of the Baltic at the other, her immenſe domains will encircle the faireſt and beſt-cultivated portion of the globe. She will embrace as it were all Europe, not to careſs and foſter it with the tender and animating preſſure of affection, but to ſtifle and deſtroy it by the ſavage and remorſeleſs hug of the bear—the hug of death! Let the partiſans of Ruſſia demonſtrate that this country has nothing to apprehend from the vaſt acquiſition of territory to which ſhe aſpires; and then we will debate on the equity and propriety of preſcribing bounds to her empire. In the language of all nations, expediency is right; and this language will ever be held and maintained by thoſe who have the means of enforcing it. The ſole queſtion to be conſidered is, how far it is conſiſtent with the ſafety of the Britiſh government to permit the Ruſſians to extinguiſh the Turkiſh empire, and eſtabliſh their dominion on the Boſphorous. If it ſhould appear, on examination, that the commerce and power of this country would be endangered by ſuch an event, the expediency of preventing its taking place can no longer be diſputed; and that it would be attended with much

one foot in Britain, and the other in Oczakow, firm to his purpoſe, and preſcribing bounds to the guilty ambition of Ruſſia. Unfortunately he yielded

much miſchief to our trade with India, and abſolute ruin in particular to the trade we carry on with Perſia by Bombay, will not be denied by thoſe who recollect the happy poſition of Conſtantinople, and that in the hands of an enterpriſing people it would infallibly unite Aſia to Europe. If the Ruſſian government, in its hitherto confined ſituation and ſcanty means of extending its commerce, has invariably directed its attention to that great object, how much more expanded will its views become! how much more exalted its hopes and impatient its deſires, when all Aſia burſts, as it were, upon its raviſhed ſight, and diſplays the riches of the eaſtern world! A canal of little more than a hundred miles in length will connect the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. The commerce of Aſia will revert into the channels through which it paſſed into Europe before the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and under circumſtances infinitely more advantageous than ever Venice and Genoa poſſeſſed. It is not perhaps generally known, that, by means of the vaſt rivers which diſcharge themſelves into the Black Sea, Ruſſia can tranſport every ſpecies of merchandiſe by water from Cherſon to Peterſburgh, and even into Siberia.

The Danube will enable her to furniſh the more ſouthern ſtates; and our trade to India may be eventually deſtroyed. Thoſe who ſuppoſe that the Court of Peterſburgh will not extend its dominions to Egypt after the Turk is driven out of Europe, or that it will not attempt a communication which may be accompliſhed with much leſs expence than ſome of our navigable canals in Worceſterſhire or Lancaſhire, muſt have been a very careleſs obſerver of what is tranſacted on the grand theatre of the world, and extremely inattentive to the preſent ſovereign of Ruſſia. If ever a commercial and enterpriſing nation ſhould eſtabliſh itſelf

at

yielded to the clamour; and, by yielding, he tacitly acknowledged that Mr. Fox was the better ſtateſman, and ſigned his own death warrant. In this inſtance Mr. Fox was not the better ſtateſman. I am even perſuaded that he muſt have been ſince convinced of the expediency of the meaſure he oppoſed; yet his conduct on that occaſion anſwered, in ſome degree, the purpoſe he ſeemed to have in view, and to have obtained that ſucceſs, which was due only to the wiſer and more correct conduct of the Miniſter. If it did not bring Mr. Fox into power, it brought him again into notice,

at Conſtantinople, it will become a Coloſſus of greater magnitude and of more real conſequence to Europe, Aſia, and Africa, than ever the famous one of braſs was to Rhodes. The deſponding prophecy of Lord Lanſdown, * reſpecting the iſſue of American independency to this country, will then be realiſed; and his Lordſhip may exclaim, in all the force and elegance of metaphor, that the ſun of England is ſet for ever!

Expediency of preſcribing Bounds to the Ruſſian Empire, page 19 to 23. Printed for R. Faulder, 1791.

† Having mentioned Lord Lanſdown, I avail myſelf of this opportunity of correcting an error into which I was imprudently led in a former publication, and as there is injuſtice in the error, I owe it to his Lordſhip and to truth, to make the only atonement in my power by publicly retracting the aſſertion: as I have had no intercourſe with Lord Lanſdown ſince 1790, as I have not even ſeen him ſince that period, I deſired a friend of mine who lives in habits of intimacy with his Lordſhip to make this acknowledgment; but I am better pleaſed with an opportunity of making reparation as publicly as the wrong was committed.

and reſtored him, in ſome degree, to that credit which he had forfeited.

I have already obſerved, that eddies are always in proportion to the vigour of their currents; Mr. Fox eſcaped into a kind of dead water, from the ſtream that was hurrying him with rapidity into total oblivion; and the velocity with which ſubſequent events ſucceeded each other, converting this dead water into an eddy, brought him and his companions back to the tail of the mill, from which ſome of them have ſince had the good fortune to eſcape into the mill dam.

" There is a tide in the affairs of men,
" Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune:
" Omitted, all the voyage of their lives
" Is bound in ſhallows, and in miſeries."

The tide on which Mr. Pitt's * fortunes were embarked flowed rapidly and triumphantly. It was, indeed, a moſt full and glorious ſea; and if he had taken the current as it ſerved, he would have ſaved his ventures; but haraſſed and aſſailed by faction at home, and little verſed in foreign politics, he was compelled to follow as he was led in all matters that related to the latter, while his whole ſtrength, vigour, and

* Vide Appendix, No. ~~XIV~~. 15

attention,

attention, were neceſſarily engaged to defend his wiſe and beneficent meaſures of domeſtic polity from the artful attacks of his angry and diſappointed opponents. But for the fatal troubles that broke out in France, and ſhook the repoſe of nations, Mr. Pitt would have continued the idol of his country, and the admiration of the world; but his inexperience, or rather his entire ignorance of the Continent and its people, rendered it an eaſy matter to impoſe upon his underſtanding, and miſlead his judgment. At a criſis ſo important he ſhould have ſought other alliances and other guides than thoſe to which he reſorted; and beholding the French Revolution, not through the miſerable optics of little minded men, to whoſe imperfect viſion all objects appear inverted, but in that enlarged point of view, as a ſtateſman, philoſopher, and legiſlator, in which events of ſuch magnitude only ſhould be conſidered, he might have avoided, perhaps, the fatal dilemma in which he is involved, and preſerved his country, if not from war, at leaſt from the diſgrace and humiliation it has woefully received.

It was eaſy to foreſee, that the effects of the French Revolution would ſpeedily paſs the boundaries of the French territory, and extend beyond the details of domeſtic government. Its operation was inſtantly felt in the moſt powerful

of the Eccleſiaſtical Electorates, where I happened to be at the time, and from whence I compared it, in a letter to an Engliſh Peer, * "*to a violent earthquake that would extend to* "*and ſhake each extremity of the globe.*"

How far my prediction in September, 1789, has been verified is within every man's knowledge. It was, indeed, impoſſible that a revolution in France could have had any other effect. Her locality, in the very centre of Europe, with an extent of ſea coaſt in both oceans; her immenſe armies and powerful fleets; her extenſive commerce, and diſtant poſſeſſions, which connect her, as it were, by ſo many different ramifications, with all the known regions of the earth; her ſplendour, power, and high renown; reſpected and often imitated by other nations; her high-finiſhed literature; her known love of the arts, and knowledge in the ſciences; and, above all, the univerſality in her language; all conſpired to give her revolution a very extenſive operation, and render it, in its conſequences, far different to any former event of a ſimilar nature. It was eaſy to foreſee, from the wide and conſtant intercourſe of France with other ſtates, and the vaſt influence of her manners, that as ſoon as her revolution went

* The Marquis of Lanſdown.

to

to other objects than to correct abuſes in the Government; that as ſoon as it extended itſelf to religion and morals, it would operate very materially on other nations, and finally produce the great changes that have happened in the minds, manners, and principles of mankind.

Such were the conſequences likely to reſult from a revolution of ſuch wonderful, ſuch direful extent; but it was reſerved for the guilt, madneſs, and obſtinate folly of her neighbours, to render that revolution a curſe and miſchief to this country! The little foreſight and firmneſs with reſpect to foreign powers, which mark almoſt the whole of Mr. Pitt's meaſures ſince July 1789, can only be attributed to his little experience in foreign politics, and to the ſtill greater misfortune of his allying himſelf to madneſs inſtead of diſcretion, and liſtening to the ſanguinary counſels of a man, whoſe imagination is as brilliant in conception, as his judgment is weak, and his temper iraſcible; whoſe mind, poor, pitiful, and revengeful, wants all the properties of true greatneſs.

Mr. Pitt muſt have been ſtrangely bewildered or infatuated when he conſulted Mr. Burke on a ſubject of ſuch magnitude and importance. It was the Atlantic flying to a puddle as its reſervoir. Danger to be ſubdued muſt be faced, not ſhunned.

ſhunned. Great events are to be met and encountered, or they will tread us down in their gigantic march. When the hapleſs monarch, at whoſe ſad ſhrine the tear of ſenſibility will ever flow, was brought in diſgraceful bondage to Paris from Verſailles, the revolution loſt its moſt eſſential and diſtinguiſhing feature in the minds of men, whoſe ſituations required that they ſhould have had more enlarged views. They loſt ſight of the great objects which that revolution actually embraced, and what was ſtill more lamentable, they do not appear to have had any clear and diſtinct ideas of the ſtill greater objects to which it pointed. The thirty millions of men, who were immediately intereſted in that great event, and the innumerable millions, whoſe intereſts muſt ultimately be involved in the conſequences of ſo great a change, ſeem to have been overlooked, in order to provide for the ſecurity of monarchy and of ariſtocracy, which were conſidered to be univerſally endangered by the confinement of the king and of the abolition of titles in France.

From this period it appears that the revolution was rather regarded as a perſonality than as an event on which depended the fate of Europe and the world. The fortunes of a few individuals are but ſmall items in this large account, and muſt not claim precedency.

The inſtant that the nobility of this country made the cauſe of the French nobles their own, they gave the very ſtab to ariſtocracy which they wiſhed to have prevented. This was an error; but the greater error was when the ſovereigns of Europe, forgetting they were delegates, made a common cauſe with Louis XVI. They were not aware that ſuch a meaſure, in its conſequences, might give a death wound to monarchy; and that the cauſe of kings was no otherwiſe intereſting or important than as it was connected with the intereſts of their ſubjects. They had no other concern with the revolution, in the firſt inſtance, than as a leſſon of advice, and if they afterwards dreaded ſuch a calamity in their own dominions, the way to prevent it was obvious; they had only to avoid thoſe exceſſes, that indiſcreet exerciſe of power, from which alone all revolutions recorded in hiſtory have reſulted. If, after ſuch an admonition, they ſhould perſevere in the ſame ruinous conduct, which has plunged France in blood, and beggared her princes, nobility, and clergy, * they can only blame themſelves, for the ſame cauſes will always produce the ſame effect. The cataſtrophe of the French King is indeed a terrible leſſon; and I am inclined to hope, from the wiſdom as well as from the ſpirit

* Vide Appendix, No. XV. 14

of

of the times, that the leſſon will not be without effect. The proximity of France to this country, their known jealouſy of our power and commerce, gave to her revolution a very conſiderable degree more of importance to us than ſuch an event could have had, if it had happened at Vienna or Berlin; and it was the duty of Miniſters to have formed a dyke in time, to keep the vaſt torrent within bounds. I have already obſerved, that ſtates ſhould adapt their conduct to times and circumſtances. The great event that had happened in France, required a bold and deciſive conduct in this country, and without ſhewing or even meaning any hoſtility, to take care, by precautionary meaſures, that the revolution did not operate to the injury of this country. A very favorable opportunity offered itſelf in the univerſal diſaffection of the Flemings to the Houſe of Auſtria. They had made offers to this country, which it would have been wiſdom to have accepted. The revolt had taken place, their independence was, in fact, accompliſhed, and only required our ſanction to conſolidate it. The giving freedom to one nation could not have given umbrage to another, which was at that time in the act of giving freedom to itſelf, and too much engaged with its own affairs, and too weak at the moment, from its diviſions, and attachment to the old ſyſtem, to have given any oppoſition, if it had been ſo diſpoſed. The

Auſtrian

Auſtrian Netherlands, under the pretence of ſecuring their newly-acquired liberties againſt the Emperor, might have re-fortified its diſmantled towns, and placed garriſons in them that would have compelled France to reſpect the neutrality of an independent ſtate. Luxemburgh, Namur, Mons, Tournay, Menin, Courtray, Oſtend, Bruges, and Ghent, would have become formidable barriers, which muſt have been each of them beſieged and taken, before a French army could have marched into the country.

The Flemings, attached to their religion, would have had an additional motive for defending their independence, had France been diſpoſed to invade the republic; and we know from experience, with what ardor men will defend a government of their choice and contrivance.

This meaſure might have been accompliſhed in February, 1790, if it had, this country, perhaps, would have eſcaped the fatal conteſt in which ſhe is involved, and Holland have remained our friend and ally. There was ſufficient time between the above period and 1793, to have rendered the Low Countries invulnerable, and if this event had taken place, the French executive council could have had no pretext for agitating the fatal queſtion of the Scheldt, which gave a pretext to both parties for quarrelling;

and as the Emperor would have been driven totally out of the Netherlands, and Liege rescued from the jurisdiction of its bishop and the empire, the French would have had no motive, or even colour of motive, for marching into the Netherlands. This I took the liberty to state in a letter to the Marquis of Buckingham;* nor were the commercial advantages that would have resulted from such a measure less important, than the many political ones that must have ensued.

Under these circumstances, I do not see how it was possible for France to have warred with this country, while Holland, secured from danger by an impenetrable barrier, would have left us without any justifiable motive for plunging into hostilities.

I have proved by a letter from General de Schlieffen, that the King of Prussia was decidedly against the Low Countries returning to the court of Vienna; and as to the views of the Princess of Orange,† they ought not to have influenced the councils

* Vide Appendix, No. ~~XV.~~ 16

† Her object was to have her son Stadtholder in Brabant and Flanders. Vandernoot and Van Eupen were her agents, and in this hope she encouraged the subjects of the Emperor in their revolt; allowed them to assemble at Breda, and was careful

councils of this country in a matter which was ſo cloſely connected with its deareſt intereſts. This I conceive to have been the firſt important error committed by adminiſtration after the ſubverſion of the old ſyſtem in France, and to which the deplorable conteſt in which we are engaged may in a great meaſure be attributed. The ſecond error was immediately after the commencement of hoſtilities, when government might have had the powerful aid of a very numerous party in France, at that time in credit, many of them in official ſituations, poſſeſſed of great influence, until, by the ferocious energy of Robeſpierre, they were either butchered or baniſhed, or compelled to conceal themſelves. Theſe men, attached to the conſtitution of 1791, as accepted by their late king, were anxious for the eſtabliſhment of a limited monarchy; they were diſtributed all over France, and were to be found in the convention, in the departments, and in the army.* A declaration from the coaleſced powers, that they would be ſatisfied with a limited monarchy, would have armed legions in favour of the fugitive princes,

ful to have them ſupplied with arms, ammunition, and whatever they wanted. There is a great deal of hiſtory attached to the tranſactions in the Low Countries, which I may perhaps hereafter detail more fully.

* Vide Appendix, No. XVI.

and Lyons, that defended itſelf with a ferocity worthy of the animals whoſe name it ſounds like, would have eſcaped the horrible maſſacres that afterwards depopulated it, and all the diſgraceful and deplorable circumſtances attached to the evacuation of Toulon, would have been prevented. Theſe true, theſe dignified, theſe rational friends of royalty, required neither money nor ammunition. This party, from the circumſtance of their being on the ſpot, and in the very heart of the country, more than from their numbers, which were certainly very conſiderable, would have been more formidable and certainly much leſs expenſive allies than thoſe infatuated gentlemen, who, by being exiles, and proſcribed, had difficulties to encounter before they could take poſt any where on the French territory, and which of courſe muſt have made the ſucceſs of any enterpriſe extremely doubtful.

The Secretary of State for foreign affairs perfectly underſtands to what I allude, and ſubſequent events have enabled his Lordſhip to form a tolerable juſt eſtimate of what this country has unfortunately loſt by his indiſcretion.

I believe that the miniſter was appriſed, late in January, or very early in February, 1794, of the unfortunate iſſue of the campaign of that year in the Low Countries. The intelligence came

came from a ſource that could not well be doubted, and I know to a certainty, that an aſſurance from Baſle was tranſmitted to him in January, 1795, that "*the Convention was ready to* "*receive propoſitions for peace, provided they were* "*compatible with the dignity, ſecurity, and inte-* "*reſts of the French republic.*"* Elated with the proſpect of a ſpeedy termination of the direful conflict, and all its attendant horrors, the perſon who received this important communication, offered to go to Baſle, without any expence to government (except for the poſt-horſes) and avail himſelf of the reſources in his power, to learn from Paris the nature of the conditions on which France would make peace.

This perſon was induced to make this offer from the poſitive information he had, that the gentleman † who had been placed at Baſle on the recommendation of the Duke of Portland, gave too eaſy credit to that claſs of Frenchmen who had an intereſt, or at leaſt were anxious for the farthier proſecution of the war. I have even reaſon to ſuſpect that the miniſtry are in-

* La Convention eſt prêt de recevoir des propoſitions " pour la paix, pourvû qu'elles ſoient convenable à la dignité, " à la ſureté et aux intereſts de la republique Françaiſe."

Extract of a letter from Baſle, January 1795, a copy of which was ſent to Mr. Pitt on the 23d of that month.

† Mr. Wickham.

clined

clined to this opinion; at leaſt they have had ſufficient evidence of the fact to convince them. Be it as it may, the perilous ſtate of the country requires a more than common degree of vigilance, prudence, and accuracy in thoſe who are on miſſion in the very focus as it were of political intrigue and cabal.

I do not mean to throw any reflection on the gentleman on miſſion in Switzerland at this important criſis; I merely ſtate a fact, and with it a reflection, the juſtice and propriety of which cannot well be queſtioned. A friend with whom I was then in the habit of converſing, and who is in an official ſituation, hinted it to me merely as his private opinion, that he ſuppoſed the reaſon why the offer was not accepted, was the apprehenſion that the perſon meant to inſinuate himſelf into the negotiation for peace, and as it was poſſible that ſuch an idea might have obtained a currency with thoſe whom he wiſhed to ſerve, without any views of emolument to himſelf, he inſtantly diſclaimed all pretenſions to reward, and even the moſt diſtant intention of making whatever ſervices he might have it in his power to render government, a foundation for any future claim; he declared that he had no other ambition than to promote, as far as he could, at this momentous criſis, the intereſts of his country, in a private ſtation, without ſalary or eclat.

It is impoſſible to ſay what reaſons the miniſter might have had for declining to enter into a negotiation at that period; it is a candor to which he is entitled, to ſuppoſe that he had ſufficient ground for the ſilence he obſerved.* Yet allowing him to have acted under the influence of what he thought better information, and to have judged it better for the intereſts of the country to continue the war, rather than to have made overtures for peace; it is no reflection on his wiſdom to obſerve, that ſubſequent events, if they have not convinced him of the deluſion under which he acted, have at leaſt changed the relative ſituations of the two countries, in ſuch a manner as to preclude him from expecting in our preſent circumſtances, as good terms as would probably have been accorded to him at the above period, when Spain and Sardinia ſtill hung to the confederacy, and Italy now proſtrate and degraded at the feet of France, gave us at leaſt her good wiſhes for ſucceſs.

* It appeared, however, to have had one good effect: Mr. Pitt declared in the courſe of the debate on Mr. Grey's motion for peace, January 26, 1795, that "*the form of government in France ſhould not be any objection to enter into a negotiation for peace.*" The extract had been ſent to him a few days previous to the motion of Mr. Grey, and has already been cited. It came from a quarter that the miniſter might have reſpected, and that could not have written unauthoriſed.

In

In this ſtate of affairs, deſerted, plundered, and laughed at by the King of Pruſſia,* forſaken by Spain and Sardinia, with the probability of loſing the very feeble ſuccour of the Emperor, humbled and incapable as he is of any effectual reſiſtance, and, above all, with the ſenſe of the country decidedly againſt the further proſecution of the war, (provided it could be concluded upon any honourable terms) it well behoves miniſters to make an experiment, which, whatever may be its event, muſt terminate to their advantage; and by abſolving them from the reproach of obſtinacy, in a matter where obſtinacy may be a crime, reſtore them to that confidence which it is ſincerely my wiſh ſhould ever be fully accorded to thoſe who are entruſted with the adminiſtration of public

* It was the impudent boaſt of this flagitious ſovereign, in the winter of 1794, that he would have *another* ſubſidy from the Engliſh. Our engagements with the Emperor, to a certainty, defeated his hopes, and the Dutch, who were much preſſed to take this part of the burthen off our hands, declined it, ſo that his Pruſſian Majeſty has only the boaſt of having plundered this country, with all the infamy attached to a conduct ſo atrocious.

† The French, after the affair of the 10th of Auguſt, and in hoſtility with Auſtria and Pruſſia, had no reſource but in war, and the anſwer that Mr. Roland gave to a friend of mine, at that time in credit and power in France, deſerves notice — "Peace is out of the queſtion—we have 300,000 in arms—we muſt make them march as far as their legs will carry them, or they will return and cut our throats."

affairs. The experiment is at leaſt worth trying; if it ſhould ſucceed, Mr. Pitt will have the glory and the conſolation of concluding a conteſt which he could not have avoided, and his abilities are a ſufficient warrant that the peace will not be a diſhonour to his name or nation.

It is an injuſtice of the moſt malevolent deſcription, to reproach Mr. Pitt with having renounced all thoſe profeſſions, on the faith of which he obtained the power and confidence of his country; I cannot ſuſpect him capable of ſo wilful, ſo indecent a departure from right; of ſo ſhameful a dereliction from his former principles and profeſſions. I am ſtill diſpoſed to believe him an advocate for parliamentary reform, and that, convinced of its neceſſity, he will, whenever the great preſſure of the moment is removed, ſeriouſly give his attention to the only meaſure that can effectually ſecure the conſtitution from the terrible contagion of the times, a contagion which even mercury cannot reach. This meaſure is no leſs the intereſt, than it is the duty of the crown and of the ariſtocracy to accede to, and they will do well to remember, that there is prudence as well as juſtice in conceſſion.

Forced as Mr. Pitt has been, by the ſtrong current of events, from all his wiſe and benevolent purpoſes, it is unfair to reproach him with

having perfidiouſly abandoned, what he had promiſed to perform. Hurried by events, whoſe violence has confounded, disjointed, or defaced thrones, ſtates, and empires; whoſe wild fury has changed the very nature almoſt of man; all but the phyſical poſition of the globe, which alone appears beyond their reach, it was not poſſible he could counteract or foreſee the wonderful revolution that has taken place, or be prepared for the more wonderful effects that have reſulted from it. Under ſuch untoward, ſuch extraordinary circumſtances, every excuſe ſhould be made; every indulgence is due; and it ought neither to offend nor ſurpriſe us, if he has not been enabled to accompliſh the vaſt, the intricate, not to ſay hazardous enterpriſe of parliamentary reform, for hazardous it certainly is, and muſt not be attempted on a ſudden, but by means ſlow and gradual, almoſt to imperceptibility, or the miſchiefs it is meant to prevent, will be accelerated.

This very conſideration ſhould operate moſt powerfully with Mr. Pitt in favour of peace, and diſpoſe him to make the attempt; if he ſhould happily ſucceed, it will enable him to reſume and accompliſh the various projects he has planned for the improvement of the revenue, and the redemption of the national debt; for the giving ſtill greater vigor and extent to our wide-extended com-

commerce; and, above all, he will be enabled to purſue, with a certainty of ſucceſs, the great object he has long had at heart, and to obtain for the lower orders of ſociety that amelioration in their condition, which, while it reflects honour on his wiſdom and humanity, will not only add to the comforts of the people, but enſure the internal tranquillity of the country.

Such are the advantages; ſuch are the honours that Mr. Pitt will infallibly derive from peace; and it well behoves him to reflect on the conſequences that are likely to reſult from a fruitleſs perſeverance againſt a nation that muſt become formidable the very inſtant ſhe ceaſes to be vulnerable.

It is in vain to diſſemble that this country ſtands on the very brink of ruin, but miniſters are much nearer the edge than any one elſe, and will be the firſt hurled down the tremendous precipice. Mr. Pitt has it in his power to ſave himſelf and the empire. The minds of the people are already angered with a ſucceſſion of diſaſtrous events in a war, the conduct of which does little credit to the wiſdom of thoſe who have directed it; and it is a queſtion that deſerves the attention of the miniſter (for his head is at ſtake) how far it may be prudent to increaſe that anger, by an obſtinate and unavailing conteſt, which

muſt heavily add to the burthens of the people, and lead eventually perhaps to inſurrection.

This truth may be offenſive, but as the happineſs of millions is an object of far greater importance in my eſtimation than the pleaſure or diſpleaſure of a miniſter, it diſdains the balance that would place them in oppoſite ſcales. Let a ſincere and unaffected diſpoſition for peace be as publicly announced as it is univerſally deſired, and the proper means taken by a frank and unreſerved communication of terms, worthy of the two nations to accept. If, after this advance on the part of Great Britain, France, intoxicated with ſucceſs, ſhould reject the proffered boon, the miniſter becomes juſtified by her guilt, and will be ſupported in his efforts to puniſh her temerity and injuſtice by the invincible energy of the whole country. Rapid as her tide of glory flows beyond the Alps and on the Rhine; ſplendid asher victories have been on the continent, her internal ſituation is as deplorable as crime and folly combined can make it. The afflicting ſcene excites the mingled ſenſations of horror, pity, and diſguſt; her ſeat of empire is a prey to contending factions, while the whole ſurface of her wide-extended territory reſembles an agitated ſea, whoſe tremendous waves, torn up by ſucceſſive tempeſts from the very bottom of the ocean, riſe furious and indignant as if jealous of dominion, and rolling on each

other in wild confuſion, are daſhed and ſplit to atoms!

If, under ſuch diſtreſſing circumſtances; if, amidſt theſe complicated ſcenes of horror and deſpair, torn and diſtracted by civil broil, the government almoſt a wreck, France, blind to her intereſt and her duty, ſhould prefer calamity to peace: if ſhe ſhould ſpurn the mild dictates of humanity and right, and from a madneſs, all her own, in the vain hope of blotting Great Britain from the nations of the earth, reſolve on a war of deſolation and of death, our's be the triumph and her's the curſe! ſhe ſhall find that Britons elated, not depreſſed by the fierce conflict to which they are driven, are equal to the glorious animating conteſt; a conteſt worthy of their valour and their virtues, and that their efforts and their heroiſm, proportioned to the great emergency, will riſe to an altitude that ſhall make France tremble at her perfidy and preſumption!

APPEN-

BRITISH
MUSEUM

BRITISH MUSEUM

APPENDIX A.

I HAD reſided ſeveral years at Liege, and on quitting it, had preſerved a conſtant correſpondence with the venerable, faithful magiſtrate the burgomaſter Fabry. It was in conſequence of ſome letters from him on the retreat of the Biſhop that I returned early in January, 1790. It was in the moment of its revolution; and my opinion being aſked as to the line of conduct neceſſary to be purſued in their preſent circumſtances, I repeated the advice I had formerly given, and recommended an alliance with the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the union to be inſtantly followed by a declaration of independence. To thoſe who love patch-work, and are ſatisfied if they can get through the great concerns of a nation from day to day, by trick and contrivance, as ſome men live from hand to mouth, and in whoſe contracted minds the ideas of magnitude and futurity never found admittance, this project may appear bold; but a man entruſted with the in-

tereſts of an entire people is ill qualified to conduct them, if he does not provide for centuries to come if poſſible, for their preſervation and improvement. It is the duty of miniſters, and I am ſure it would be wiſdom in them, to look conſtantly forward, and never backward, but by way of reference to experience for good counſel. This project, which I feel a ſatisfaction in reflecting, I was the firſt to ſuggeſt in that country, and which I took the liberty to recommend in this, would have been adopted in Brabant, if thoſe wretched bigots, Van Eupen and Vandernoot, the one a weak and rancorous prieſt, and the other a lawyer, had poſſeſſed any thing like a mind between them: I feel the utmoſt concern that it failed; for I had objects in view far more important than thoſe which were declared, and which at the time would not have been difficult to accompliſh. I was no ſtranger either to the intrigues of the Pruſſian agents, or of Mr. Semonville, who had been ſent from Paris to Bruxelles to treat with the chiefs of the inſurgents, and this made me the more anxious to have my project executed. To do juſtice to my friend, no efforts on his part would have been wanting; and if Brabant had been leſs blinded by ſuperſtition, it would have ſucceeded. If it had happily ſucceeded, a ſtrong and impenetrable barrier, extending one hundred and fifty Engliſh miles,

miles, in a direct line from Oſtend to Aix-la-Chapelle, and, in ſome places, as many in breadth, would have been given to the Dutch on the ſide of France, while Cleves would have ſecured them from inſult on that of the Empire. It would alſo have prevented, by inoculation as it were, five millions of people from receiving the contagion of their powerful neighbours, in the very worſt ſtage of their diſeaſe, or from throwing themſelves in deſpair into the arms of France, as the only refuge from Auſtrian deſpotiſm; and, finally, it would have produced very conſiderable commercial advantages to this country, well worthy of the attention of Miniſters. I had long been apprehenſive that the Auſtrian Netherlands would ultimately fall under the dominion of France, either by conqueſt, exchange, or the diſaffection of the people to the Emperor; and as ſuch an event would be of ſerious conſequence to the maritime power of Great Britain, by giving to her natural enemies and rivals the command of both ends of the Channel, I was rejoiced at an opportunity of preventing a calamity of ſuch political extent. What I dreaded in 1785, and predicted in 1787, actually happened in 1792; the French had rendered themſelves maſters of the Low Countries, and even of Liege and Aix-la-Chapelle; and if they had been leſs intoxicated with their victories, and more attentive to the obligations

of morality, or even to the ſuggeſtions of policy, in her firſt invaſion, they would have preſerved their conqueſts againſt all the force of Europe, and the inhabitants of the Low Countries would have eſcaped the horrors of the two campaigns that have again deluged them in blood, and again wreſted them from the Houſe of Auſtria.

APPENDIX B.

IT was one part of the miſſion of the Chevalier Donceel from Liege to Brabant, who was alſo employed as a ſecret agent by the Court of Berlin, to propoſe the alliance I ſuggeſted, and to engage the Auſtrian Netherlands to follow the more wiſe and prudent councils of Monſieur Vonck, in preference to thoſe of Vandernoot, who was merely an inſtrument in the hands of an intriguing woman, allied to a ſovereign who has ſucceſſively, and, what is ſtill more to be lamented, ſucceſsfully betrayed all parties and all nations whom he pretended to ſerve, and engaged to ſupport. If I forbear to ſay more upon this ſubject, it is out of compaſſion to a female in adverſity, though her adverſity has been occaſioned by her paſſion for political intrigue and the ſottiſh imbecility of her

her huſband. The object of this note is merely to prove, that the Court of Berlin was decidedly of opinion in 1790, that the Low Countries ſhould be wreſted from the Emperor. What the opinions of the King of Pruſſia have been ſince that period, we all know from wretched experience, but what they may hereafter be, Omniſcience alone can foretel.

" Il ne fut jamais queſtion de faire entrer les troupes étrangeres dans le Pays Bas; vous pouvez dire hardiment que ni Pruſſiens, ni Heſſois, ni les troupes de Brunſwic n'y entreront;—il nous ſuffit, mon cher Chevalier, que les Pays Bas, ne retombe pas entre les mains de l'Empereur.

Etait ſigné,

Le General de SCHLIEPPEN."

A Liege,
Fevrier, 1790.

Au Chevalier Donceel à Bruxelles.

TRANSLATION.

" It was never meant to march any foreign troops into the Low Countries; you may, therefore, boldly contradict ſuch a report, and as boldly aſſert, that neither the troops of Pruſſia,

Pruſſia, Heſſe, nor Brunſwick, will enter the Auſtrian Netherlands—all that we require is that they do not return again to the houſe of Auſtria.

Signed,

Le General SCHLIEFFEN."

Liege, Feb. 1790.

To the Chevalier Donceel à Bruxelles.

It is neceſſary to obſerve that this is an anſwer to a letter from M. Donceel, ſtating the general apprehenſion at Bruxelles of an intention of the King of Pruſſia to march his troops into the Low Countries, in order to force the people to receive a Stadtholder, which the Princeſs of Orange had propoſed, and to which they were as averſe as to a governor and miniſter from Vienna. M. Vandernoot was the inſtrument who undertook to prepare men's minds for this ſubſtitute for the Archducheſs;* but the good ſenſe of the country would alone have ſufficed to defeat the ſucceſs of any ſuch project, even if they had not been ſtimulated by the cabals of the French to reject it. France was no leſs alarmed than the Flemings at the idea of a foreign army marching into the Low Coun-

* " Nous n'avons pas beſoin des marionettes"—*We do not want puppets*—was the obſervation made to me, at that time, by one of the ableſt men in Brabant.

objects

tries. The neighbourhood was too near her frontiers, and the invaſion might have other objects beſides the guarantee of the transfer of a nation from one deſpot to another. The French are as vigilant as they are intelligent, and thoſe in this country, who imagine that the proportion of intellect in France bears no proportion to that in England, deceive themſelves very much, and are either ignorant or illiberal in the degree that they entertain, and propagaate an opinion ſo diſtant from truth, and that reflects ſuch little credit on their juſtice or their underſtanding.

APPENDIX C.

" THE miſerable peaſant, deſtitute of every reſource but induſtry to ſupport his wretched offspring, and even that reſource, (poor and ſcanty as it is) a contingency on his health and capacity for labour, muſt toil hard for the ſolitary ſhilling with which he daily feeds and clothes his helpleſs family. It has repeatedly fallen within my obſervation ſince the commencement of this letter, to behold, in a variety of inſtances, this extreme diſtreſs aggravated by the illneſs and infirmity of the children, to whom, as well as to their hapleſs parents, exiſtence appears to be every thing but a bleſſing. Contraſt their deplorable

deplorable condition with your own exalted ſtate! Recollect how much you are indebted to *chance* for the ſuperiority of your fortune, and remembering that theſe men are your fellow creatures; poſſeſſing in common with yourſelf, a right to the common neceſſaries and enjoyments of life, let me aſk you, Sir, if you can without bluſhing demand, excluſive of the very ample income allowed you by the nation, a ſum that would comfortably maintain in perpetuity, ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED of theſe very people, whoſe afflictions you would increaſe, and whoſe morſel of bread you would embitter and render more difficult to obtain, in order to defray your extravagance? Sir, it is againſt reaſon, it is againſt juſtice, humanity, and right; it is againſt your perſonal intereſt and ſecurity, that a diſproportion ſo ſcandalous ſhould exiſt between man and man! God never deſigned it, and the government that authoriſes or connives at the abuſe, hazards its tranquillity or exiſtence.

"It is no abatement of the ſufferings and agonizing ſorrows of the famiſhed cottager, that the portion of happineſs is not more diffuſed among the higher, than it is among the lower orders of ſociety. It is no alleviation of his diſtreſs, that while he is periſhing of hunger, your Royal Highneſs is expoſed to numberleſs vexations and diſappointments. The chagrin and

anger provoked by pride deſervedly mortified, or your ill health ariſing from intemperance, afford him no conſolation in the hour of calamity; they adminiſter no comfort to his mind, and afford no drawback to his grief or misfortunes. They furniſh neither food nor raiment to his ſtarving, ragged offſpring, nor ſhield his ill-thatched hovel from the rude blaſts of winter. It is ſophiſtry to ſay, that the magnificence in which you live is but ſplendid miſery, which amply revenges him for the difference of his fortune; nor is it argument to ſay, that becauſe you are wretched, he ought to be happy, for it is only a baſe and vindictive mind that can derive conſolation or joy from the miſeries of another."

Extract of a Letter addreſſed to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, May 1796. *Page* 13.—11*th Edition.*

APPENDIX D.

IT is unimportant to ſtate the cauſes of my diſagreement with the Miniſter. Whatever my opinion on any of the great queſtions that agitate men's minds at this awful criſis, may be, it is of too little moment to juſtify its publication to the world. I cannot, however, but regret that he ſhould have given force and activity to a mind as malignant and vindictive in its very nature, as it is ſplendid in its endowments; I did not feel myſelf pledged, either by my confidence in the Miniſter, or my perſonal regard for him, to reſpect every man whom the circumſtances of the moment might force him to receive to his boſom. If Mr. Pitt, for great political purpoſes, was compelled to go into bad company, he muſt take the conſequences; I felt no ſuch neceſſity, and was not obliged to follow him.

I never ventured to give an opinion on the ſervices for which Mr. Burke was employed, and for which he has been ſo profuſely paid.—It is, I think, very evident, that if he had continued to act with his old friends until he retired from Parliament, that he would not have had his retreat enlivened by a crowd of penſions which ſtood ſo much

much in each other's way, that he was under the neceſſity of parting with ſome of them at auction to the higheſt bidder.——This being the caſe, every man is qualified to judge of his *quantum meruit*, and may "*ſit on the* "*inqueſt.*" But when Mr. Burke, with a malevolence all his own, at leaſt I hope ſo, and which was as unprovoked as it was unqueſtionably inhuman, attacked an unfortunate man, confined many fathoms below the ſurface of the earth, in a damp and dreary dungeon, whom I had known in better times, and whoſe public virtue is as tranſcendent as his fate is deplorable, I felt it a duty that I owed to the ſacred call of private friendſhip and affection, as well as to the glorious and animating cauſe of liberty, to vindicate him from his mercileſs and cowardly aſſaſſin.

If any thing could aggravate the charge, moſt impudently falſe, that Mr. Burke had the unfeeling atrocity to advance againſt M. de la Fayette, it is the circumſtance of the impoſſibility of this victim to the double infamy of tyranny and ſlander, refuting the calumnies of his protected libeller. It was not M. de la Fayette only that I defended, but the cauſe of freedom and humanity over the wide extended ſurface of the earth. It was the cauſe of every man, except the wretched being in whom it originated; and can this man ever expect either refuge or comfort? O, no!

Beaconsfield can afford him no aſylum, nor the proud Exchequer of Britain adminiſter to him either eaſe or conſolation; with all its enormous mint of money he would be poor, and his exiſtence (embittered by the reflection of having ſwelled and aggravated the calamities of war) rendered wretched even in Paradiſe.

That Mr. Burke ſhould have gone charged with uncommon wrath to Mr. Pitt, and in the luſt and delirium of his rage, have called for vengeance on my devoted head, I can well conceive, and even pardon, but I cannot ſo readily account for, or excuſe the unkindneſs and indiſcretion of the Miniſter for interfering in a matter in which I was at perfect liberty to judge for myſelf, and above all, as it is not in this country, thank God, that malice or deſpotiſm can ſelect victims at diſcretion, I could have wiſhed that the Miniſter had not expreſſed any diſſatisfaction at the part I took; but if his conduct in that inſtance was ill-adviſed, it was altogether as manly in the ſilence he has ſince obſerved, and in his reſiſting the malevolence that would have beggared me and an only child, dear to me in every reſpect, by withdrawing from me, if it could, what I have dearly and honourably earned.

The following letter will explain this, and as this is the concluſion of my labour in the political vineyard, I feel no difficulty in publiſhing it.

Mr.

Mr. Miles *to Mr.* Rose.

" Sir,

London, March 6, 1796.

" MY letter to Mr. Duncombe is not a departure from the intention I had formed of not writing any more, unleſs the occaſion ſhould be urgent; I ſay this, leſt you ſhould ſuppoſe that I am fickle. In March 1794, I pledged myſelf to meet Mr. Burke if he ever came forward again.—He has come forward, and I have kept my word.—If he was the perſon to whom you alluded as having adviſed Mr. Pitt to violate his engagements to me, he will be more active than ever in his efforts to ſeduce the man, whom I ſtill reſpect and wiſh to ſerve, into an act of injuſtice. Mr. Burke knows nothing of my *quantum meruit*, and cannot, muſt not, be upon the *inqueſt*. The moderate income that I receive under the ſign manual, and from the treaſury, is the reward of many years creditable, faithful, and acknowledged ſervices, in which my private fortune was impaired to a greater amount than my penſion would ſell for at Garraway's.

" Feeling my right to the one and to the other to be indubitable, the former cannot be withdrawn

drawn during my life, nor the other withheld during the continuance of Mr. Pitt in office, but by an iniquitous perverſion of power, againſt which I feel the moſt perfect ſecurity in the juſtice of the Miniſter. The man, therefore, that you ſay counſelled Mr. Pitt to ſuch a meaſure, wanted integrity, if he knew the conditions of the bond, and if he did not, he was impertinent.

" Allow me to repeat the aſſurances of eſteem with which I am,

" Sir, &c."

APPENDIX E.

"ALTHOUGH it was the policy of the Court of Verſailles to have the foreign journals at her diſpoſition, and to have as many of them as poſſible conducted by French editors; France was not the only power that watched with painful vigilance and ſuſpicion, every paragraph or eſſay that had the moſt diſtant relation to her government, adminiſtration, or affairs; it was in conformity with this principle, ſo rigidly adhered to, that Monſieur Sabatier, the Envoy from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to the Prince Biſhop of Liege, received a ſevere reprimand from his Court, for not having inſiſted on the Liege Gazette being taken from the printer, and the editor diſmiſſed, for having preſumed to retort in June, 1782, a bravado of the marine miniſter in France, who, on taking leave of M. de Graſſe, whom he had accompanied to Breſt, recommended in a very audible manner the Britiſh Admiral, Sir George Rodney, to his particular care. The Empreſs of Ruſſia, animated by the ſame ſpirit, ſent inſtructions to her Conſul, Mr. Fabius, at Bruxelles, to make a formal complaint to the ſame Prince Biſhop, againſt a a journal recently eſtabliſhed in the city of Liege,

by a native of France, who had ſought refuge in that principality from his own country, and as a reſource had ſet up a newſpaper. The Biſhop, in compliance with the wiſhes of the Court of Peterſburg, inſiſted upon the "*Journal Politique et General de l'Europe*," ſubmitting to have an imprimateur, or to quit the Liege territory; he choſe the latter, and retired to a town twelve miles off, in the duchy of Limburg, on the road to Aix-la-Chapelle, called Herve, and his paper from thence was afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the name of "*La Feuille de Herve.*"

As the editor of this journal has made a very conſpicuous figure on the great and aſtoniſhing ſcene yet before us, and as by the extraordinary occurrences of the times, it has fallen to my lot to have correſponded with him at the two epochs in which his fortunes, no leſs whimſical than malicious, were in the greateſt extremes, it will be permitted me, I hope, to ſay ſomething of a man who, for one ſhort moment of his life, appears as if he held the deſtiny of Europe in his hands, and whoſe extravagant ambition, combined with ignorance, and, perhaps, with ſome degree of perſonal reſentment againſt the miniſter, for not having accorded him in 1788, an allowance of fifty pounds a year, accelerated the fatal declaration that involved France and England in their preſent dreadful conflict. This man

man had received a regular education, but wild and diſſipated, after having been a ſtudent, ſoldier, and vagabond in ſucceſſion, was finally proſcribed his native country by order of Monſieur de Vergennes. In his talents he found a reſource which atoned for the poverty of his fortunes, and would have repaired the injuries produced by miſconduct, if he had poſſeſſed at any one period of his life, either prudence or rectitude. His firſt endeavour, on ſetting up this journal, towards the cloſe of the American war, was to ingratiate himſelf with the government that had ſpurned him, by contraſting the grandeur and proſperity of France with the penury and degraded ſtate of Great Britain, humbled, as he ſaid, to be a nation only of the third rank in the ſcale of Europe. It was the conſtant burthen of his ſong, that this country was on the eve of bankruptcy, that no exertion of wiſdom or œconomy could reſtore her ſhattered credit, and that France alone was the only power in whom foreign ſtates could with ſafety confide their property. The magnanimity and diſcretion of the French miniſter, with the fallen and impoveriſhed condition of England, torn and divided by cabals of contending factions, were the themes that conſtantly occupied ſeveral pages of *La Feuille de Herve*, and as the concluſions drawn from theſe exaggerated miſrepreſentations were alone attended to, the falſehood, ab-

 ſurdity,

ſurdity, and impudence of the premiſes were thrown altogether out of the account. Indeed it was hardly poſſible for an Engliſhman to mix in ſociety at that period without hearing ſome unpleaſant animadverſions on his country and its government.

It is an argument with foreigners who never travel, that a man can have no very great love for his country who quits it, and from thence they conclude that every Engliſhman on the continent is happier abroad than at home. It is under this impreſſion that the queſtion, *What makes you ſo fond of travelling?* is ſo often propoſed, particularly when an Engliſhman among foreigners has the indiſcretion publicly to extol his own nation as ſuperior to all others. This ſubject was occaſionally handled with an happy and miſchievous effect, by way of a pleaſant relief to the dry details of political œconomy, in which it was proved to the entire conviction of all thoſe who know nothing of the matter, that the Britiſh funds, could not poſſibly hold their ground, and that England, ruined and undone, would ſpeedily become a bankrupt. The generality of foreigners, excepting the French, know little more of other nations than what they read in the public prints, and it is in the public prints that they place the greateſt confidence; if the truth is conteſted, the only anſwer

ſwer they gave is, *il faut que cela ſoit vrai, car il eſt imprimé.* A perſon in high rank and in high official ſituation, on being told that almoſt every houſe in London had a lamp at its door, expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, and could ſcarce believe it poſſible; addreſſing himſelf to me, he demanded, *eſt il vrai, Monſieur, que les rues de Londres ſont ſi bien eclairées? Oui, Monſieur,* (I anſwered) *les rues et les* HOMMES *y ſont très eclairés.* The ſame perſon could not eaſily believe that Mr. Pitt was not a Lord. I have merely mentioned theſe trifling circumſtances, and this extreme ignorance of foreigners, to account for the extreme credit given to all that is aſſerted in the public prints.

I had obſerved with much impatience the inceſſant miſrepreſentations of *The Journal General et Politique de l'Europe*, reſpecting the public credit of this country, and this impatience was rather increaſed than diminiſhed by the frequent appeals that were made to me with an air of malignant triumph for a confirmation of the fact, and eſpecially by thoſe whom I knew to be penſioners of the Court of Verſailles. As I frequently met the French miniſter at dinner and at parties, I took occaſion to mention, in the courſe of familiar chit-chat, the illiberality of his countryman, and to wiſh that he would confine himſelf to facts, for that a great nation, like

France, did not require to be propped by falſehood and ſcurrilities. M. St. Croix, reprobating the man, his paper, and his conduct, declared he was ſo worthleſs, he had nothing to ſay to him. Vexed at theſe daily libels, I conceived the project of writing a private letter to M. Le Brun, in which I lamented that a journal ſo univerſally and ſo deſervedly read, ſhould have fallen into the groſſeſt errors, and that anxious for the credit of his paper, I had taken the liberty to ſend him an haſty ſketch of our public debt, taxes, and reſources, on the fidelity of which he might venture to rely, and that I truſted to his love of truth to give it the reception it deſerved.

In the courſe of a week I received a very flattering acknowledgment of its having been received, and that every attention ſhould be paid to my information that I could wiſh. It did not occur to me at the time that this officiouſneſs might expoſe me to the ſuſpicion of being in ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh miniſter, and if that had really been the fact, it is moſt probable that I ſhould not have written, leſt ſuch a ſuſpicion ſhould have expoſed me to danger. The truth is, that not having ſuch a correſpondence, I thought only of rendering a ſervice to my country by correcting miſ-ſtatements that I perceived impreſſed foreigners with a very unfavourable opinion of Britiſh ſecurity, and Britiſh

Britiſh faith. I had no other motive, I had not even communed with a ſingle creature on the ſubject, and was far from being equal to the taſk of explaining myſelf as fully as I wiſhed to do in either the French or Engliſh language. The reception however, that my communication met with, gave me a very high idea of M. Le Brun's candor, and I was ſtill more charmed with his conduct when I found that his abuſe was converted into panegyric, and that the finances and reſources of England were the conſtant themes of his admiration. Little read in human nature, and allowing truth to poſſeſs a much larger empire over the minds of men than ſhe is ever likely to obtain, I attributed, without heſitation, the change that had taken place entirely to a love of juſtice in the editor. It was under this conviction, that, ſeveral months afterwards, I wrote him the following letter, in conſequence of his having been compelled to fly, at only half an hour's notice, from his wife and children, dependent on his induſtry for ſupport, to claim the protection of the Emperor againſt an unjuſtifiable exertion of power in the States of Brabant, lately revolted from the juriſdiction of their ſovereign. I was at this time an entire ſtranger to the perſon of M. Le Brun."

" *Liege, le 30 Juin,* 1787.

" MONSIEUR,

" JE viens d'apprendre par M. Fabry l'evenement facheux qui vous eſt arrivé, et qui vous a forcé de vous ſouſtraire ſur le champ à un pouvoir nouvellement acquis, et très indécemment exercé à votre égard.

" Il m'a dit que vous étiez parti pour reclamer la protection de l'Empereur contre l'injuſtice des êtats du Brabant. Votre départ précipité ne vous a pas ſans doute permis de vous pourvoir de l'argent néceſſaire pour les frais d'un voyage pénible et diſpendieux. Choqué de cette conduite de la part des Etats, que la liberté naiſſante auroit dû rendre plus conforme aux principes de la juſtice, et ſentant combien une démarche ſi peu meaſurée, pour ne pas dire ſi tyrannique, a dû vous occaſionner d'embarras, je me flatte que vous ne trouverez pas mauvais qu'un Anglais, animé par l'amour de la liberté, qu'il ne perdra qu'avec la vie, ait jointe ici une traite de vingt Louis de Meſſrs. Naglemackers ſur leur correſpondents à Ratisbonne. J'eſpére que cette petite ſomme vous arrivera à tems pour

vous être utile, et ſurtout que vous obtiendrez de votre ſouverain la juſtice qu'il vous doit.

" Je ſuis, MONSIEUR,

" Avec conſideration, &c.

" W. MILES."

A Monſieur,
Monſieur le Brun,
Poſt reſtante à Ratiſbonne.

TRANSLATION.

" *Liege, June* 30, 1787.

" SIR,

" I AM this inſtant informed by Mr. Fabry of the unpleaſant event which has happened, and which has forced you to fly from a power lately acquired, and very indecently exerciſed towards your perſon.

" I am told you are gone to Vienna to claim the protection of the Emperor againſt the injuſtice of the ſtates of Brabant. I am afraid, Sir, that your precipitate departure did not allow you ſufficient time to provide yourſelf with money for a long and expenſive journey. Incenſed at the conduct of the ſtates of Brabant, to whom the riſing ſpirit of liberty ſhould have dictated principles more conformable to juſtice, and feeling how very much this meaſure of their's, ſo imprudent,

imprudent, not to ſay tyrannical, muſt have embarraſſed you, I hope you will not be offended at an Engliſhman, animated by that love of liberty which he will relinquiſh only with his exiſtence, intreating your acceptance of a draught for 20*l.* on a banker at Ratiſbon. I hope this trifle will reach you in time to be of uſe to you, and that you will obtain that juſtice from your ſovereign to which you are entitled.

" I am,

" SIR, &c.

" W. MILES."

To Mr. le Brun,
To be left at the Poſt Office, Ratiſbon.

To this letter I received the following anſwer.

" MONSIEUR,

" AH! ſans doute vous êtes Anglais, et vous méritez de l'être—ce trait et généreux, et la nobleſſe dont vous l'accompagnerez, annonce une ame toute brulante de l'amour de la verité, et de ſenſibilité pour les infortunés, et vous craignez encore homme incomparable, et vous avez la delicateſſe de craindre, que je ne prenne en mauvaiſe part le bienfait que vous m'offrez. Non, Monſieur, j'en ſuit au contraire tout pénétré de reconnaiſſance, et j'accepte votre don avec plaiſir. Quand ce ne ſeroit que pour ne

pas

pas priver votre ame de la ſeule recompence digne d'elle; nous comptons être à Vienne ſur la fin de la ſemaine, et je ne doute pas que nous ne trouvions toute la ſatisfaction qui nous eſt due auprès du ſouverain. J'aurai joie et je m'en ferai un devoir de vous informer des progrés des nos ſolicitations, ne deſirant rien tant, que de pouvoir reprendre aux plutôt nos travaux, et vous prouver d'une maniere plus eclatante, les ſentimens d'eſtime, d'admiration, et de reconnoiſſance, que vous m'avez inſpirés, et avec leſquels, j'ai l'honneur d'être, MONSIEUR, votre très humble, très obeiſant ſerviteur,

" LE BRUN."

" *Ratiſbonne, le 7 Juillet*, 1787."

A Monſieur,
Monſieur Miles,
Gentilhomme Anglais à Liege.

TRANSLATION.

" SIR,

" AH! moſt certainly you are an Engliſhman, and well you deſerve the name of one. This noble and generous action announces a ſoul fired by the love of truth, and compaſſion for the unfortunate, and you are afraid of offending me by your generoſity! No, Sir; on the contrary, I am penetrated by your kindneſs,

and accept your offer with gratitude. We expect to be at Vienna towards the end of the week, and I do not doubt but we ſhall find every ſatisfaction that is due to us from the ſovereign. I ſhall feel it my duty to inform you of the reſult of our ſolicitations, deſiring nothing more than to be enabled to reſume our labours as ſoon as poſſible, and to prove to you in the ſtrongeſt manner the ſentiments of eſteem, admiration, and gratitude, with which you have inſpired us, and with which we have the honour to be,

" Your moſt obedient humble ſervants,

" LE BRUN."

" *Ratiſbon, July* 7, 1787."

To Mr. Miles, Liege.

In the month of October or November following, Le Brun reſumed his journal, and recommended his labours by accuſing the Engliſh Cabinet of having excited the Turk to declare war againſt the Muſcovite, and his animadverſions on that ſuppoſed fact were well calculated, as they were meant to do, to impreſs the world with that opinion. I wrote to M. Le Brun that I was ſorry he had ſo ſuddenly changed his opinion of Mr. Pitt; and was ſorry to ſee him ſo poſitive in a charge which I had every reaſon to believe was ill-founded. Upon the receipt of my letter, every thing

thing that had been aſſerted was inſtantly retracted, and the next number vindicated the Britiſh Cabinet from what I thought a calumny. It gave me great pleaſure to find afterwards, that Sir R. M. Keith, the King's Miniſter at Vienna, had formally contradicted the charge, by order of his own Court. This was, in ſome ſort, a confirmation of what I had done, and would, as I thought, give me credit for veracity. My triumph, however, was of ſhort duration, the Emperor Joſeph, who was at once vehement and implacable in his reſentment, ſent orders to the government at Bruxelles to reprimand the Journal Politique, and to inſiſt upon its renewing the charges, and throwing the whole odium of the war upon the Engliſh Cabinet, or on the Engliſh Miniſter at Conſtantinople; in obedience to this command, the attack was reſumed, and in conſequence of its being reſumed, I wrote the following letter to Le Brun;*

A Monſieur Le Brun.

" *Bruxelles, March* 12, 1788.

" MONSIEUR,

" APRES vous avoir aſſuré que la guerre qui s'eſt malheureuſement déclarée entre la Porte et la Ruſſie, n'etoit pas l'ouvrage de l'Angleterre;

* In looking over my correſpondence, I met with ſeveral of M. Le Brun's letters. The following extract from one of them is in anſwer to a requeſt I made him to be impartial in his account

je me ſuis flatté que vous m'auriez cru, et ſurtout puiſque vous eutes la complaiſance de retracter d'abord ce que vous veniez d'avancer dans ce moment là, dans votre diſcours preliminaire.

" Je ne puis que ſentir beaucoup de chagrin, en vous voyant donner plus de crédit à une lettre

account of the politics of the different courts. In a converſation with him on the ſubject of the following paſſage, he explained *il me ſera difficile d'applaudir*, by deſiring me to read it as he meant, but did not dare to write it—*il m'a été* DEFENDU *d'applaudir*, adding *C'eſt la catin du nord qui s'en mêle auſſi*, and exclaiming, " *Ah! Monſieur, c'eſt dans votre Iſle ſeule, qu'on peut heurter du front le deſpotiſme.*"

Extract of a Letter from M. LE BRUN *to* Mr. MILES, *dated Herve, Jauvier le* 6, 1788.

" *Je commencerai cette ſemaine, Monſieur, l'article de la Grande Bretagne, ou je chercherai l'occaſion de rendre au premier Miniſtre, le tribut d'eloge et d'eſtime que je crois qu'il merite, par ſes qualités perſonelles et parliamentaires; mais il me ſera toujours difficile d'applaudir au ſyſtême politique du cabinet de St. James.*"

TRANSLATION.

Extract of a Letter from M. LE BRUN *to* Mr. MILES, *dated Herve, Jan.* 6, 1788.

" I ſhall begin this week, Sir, the articles reſpecting Great Britain, and I will take an opportunity to render that tribute of juſtice which is due to the great parliamentary abilities of the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury; but it will be extremely difficult for me to approve of the politics of the Britiſh Cabinet."

particuliere

particuliere de Paris, qu'aux déclarations formelles de la Cour de Londres, je ne m'arretterai pas ſur l'indécence de donner un démenti ſi fort, à une autorité auſſi reſpectable, et certainement plus digne de foi que votre correſpondent ne peut l'être. Mais j'en appelle à votre humanité, S'il eſt juſte d'expoſer non ſeulement la vie d'un homme innocent, mais même ſa réputation; car ſi votre journal par hazard penetroit juſqu'à Conſtantinople, le Chevalier Ainſlie eſt infalliblement perdu. Ce que vous venez de lui attribuer lui couteroit la vie, et il faut avouer qu'on ne devroit pas ſe permettre des accuſations ſerieuſes, ſans être bien aſſuré de leur verité. Le Chevalier Ainſlie * juſqu'à préſent ne s'eſt pas permis de paſſer les bornes de ſon devoir.

" S'il avoit, comme vous le dites, excité la guerre entre les Turcs et la Ruſſie, ſans la participation de ſa Cour, il ſeroit rappellé, et une pareille démarche l'auroit expoſé à être maſſacré à Conſtantinople. D'ailleurs, Monſieur, vous oubliez la maxime qui ſert d'épigraphe à numero 30 de votre journal.

* I have not the honour of knowing Sir Robert Ainſlie, or of being known to him, but finding him the object of very ſerious charges by the Court of Vienna, through the miniſtry of the Journal Politique, and apprehenſive it might expoſe his perſon to danger, I took upon me to contradict the calumny, from a love of that juſtice which is due to all, and ſhould be aſſured to all.

" Sans aucune preuve quelconque vous prononcez hardiment contre un homme revêtu d'un caractere public, et dans un affaire où il y va de ſa vie, et de ſa réputation.

" J'eſpere qu'après cette rémonſtrance amicale (ecrit par un homme, qui vous a dejà donné des preuves de ſon amitié, et qui ſera heureux de vous être utile) vous ſerez plus circonſpect à l'avenir, et que vous rendrez juſtice au Chevalier Ainſlie, dans votre prochain numero.

" Je ſuis, &c.

" W. MILES."

TRANSLATION.

To Monſieur Le Brun.

" *Bruxelles, March* 12, 1788.

" SIR,

" AFTER having aſſured you the war, which has unfortunately been declared between the Porte and Ruſſia, was not the work of Great Britain, I flattered myſelf that you would believe me, particularly after you had had the complaiſance to retract immediately what you had juſt before advanced in your preliminary diſcourſe.

" I cannot but feel great concern in ſeeing you give more credit to a private letter from Paris than to the formal declaration of the Court of

of London. I will not dwell on the impropriety of giving ſo flatly the lye to ſo reſpectable an authority, who certainly is more worthy of credit than your correſpondent can be.—But I appeal to your humanity. Is it juſt to expoſe not only the life of an innocent man, but even his character? For if your journal ſhould by chance find its way to Conſtantinople, Sir Robert Ainſlie would be undone. What you impute to him would coſt him his life, and you muſt own that ſuch ſerious accuſations ſhould not be brought againſt him, unleſs the truth of them were known with certainty. Hitherto Sir Robert Ainſlie has not attempted to go beyond the limits of his duty.

" If he had, as you have ſaid, excited a war between Ruſſia and the Turks, without the participation of his Court, he would be recalled, and ſuch a meaſure would expoſe him to be maſſacred at Conſtantinople. Beſides, Sir, you forget the motto you have taken for Number 30 of your journal.

" Without any ſort of proof you boldly condemn a man veſted with a public character and in circumſtances where his life and reputation are at ſtake.

" I hope,

"I hope, Sir, that after this friendly remonſtrance, tranſmitted to you by a man who has already proved his good wiſhes to ſerve you, you will be more cautious in future, and do juſtice to Sir R. Ainſlie in your next number.

I am, &c.

"WILLIAM MILES."

But inſtead of retracting, as he had done before, he intimated to me that his authority was unqueſtionable, and he muſt reſpect it. At an interview with him afterwards in my way to Aix-la-Chapelle, he revealed the whole hiſtory of this intrigue, and ſhewed me ſome curious correſpondence, which proved how very apt governments are to be indiſcreet, when they believe themſelves to be omnipotent. The Journal Politique, conſtrained to write in the ſenſe that was dictated to him by the council at Bruxelles, and vexed, at the ſame time, that ſome efforts to obtain him an annual allowance from England, were not ſucceſsful, he no longer kept any meaſure with the Engliſh government, and this country became the object of malevolent animadverſion, until the expulſion of the Imperial troops from Bruxelles, when the Emperor not only loſt Brabant, but M. Le Brun: it was then that the character of this man became developed; it was then that I diſcovered that his ready attention to my firſt communication in 1785

was

was in consequence of a peremptory refusal from M. de Vergennes to allow either him or his journals to traverse France.

The accident that made my letter travel in company with this prohibition to Herve,* ensured to the former the reception I wished. The Emperor, twice expelled the Low Countries, and twice suffered to return to it, obliged M. Le Brun to evacuate the Low Countries, and take shelter in Paris, which became at that epoch the resort more than ever of innumerable swarms of adventurers. It was in the winter, 1790, that he arrived, and being informed that I was in town, he desired permission to wait on me; apprised of his character, I declined the interview. His project was to add another journal to the million that the press incessantly brought out at all hours of the day and night, for the horrid purpose of inflaming and misleading the million into the commission of all kinds of crimes and excesses. He sent me the prospectus, by one of the deputies from the principality of Liege, Monsieur Regnier, who solicited permission to set me down as a subscriber, to which I consented; but he was, as it were, insulated and alone, a stranger even in his native country, without friends to patronise, or money to support him. The journal advanced no farther than the prospectus, and as a dernier resource, he made an offer of his services to the go-

* The residence of M. Le Brun.

vernment of Bruxelles. Leopold had all the duplicity, and ſome of the avarice of his deceaſed brother, without his turbulence or impatience: aware of the influence of a popular writer, with men whoſe minds were yet in a ferment, he offered to give Le Brun a hundred piſtoles a year, and allow him to return and ſet up a journal, if he would ſupport the houſe of Auſtria; but it was required that theſe piſtoles ſhould be made louis-d'ors, the demand was refuſed, and the treaty diſſolved for ever. The Emperor, from a miſerable œconomy, in order to ſave about twelve guineas a year, ſpurned the man who afterwards became, in ſome degree, the arbiter of his fate! It was at this period, in the ſpring of the year 1791, that as another laſt reſource, M. Le Brun obtained admiſſion into the Jacobin club, I was preſent at the time, and heard it remarked, that at no period ſo many members had been elected, and ſo many candidates refuſed. The intrigues, buſtle, and convulſions of thoſe times, whoſe ſtorms, great as they were, were but precurſors to ſtill greater tempeſts, raiſed him nearer the ſurface, and Dumourier finding him uſeful, intelligent, and indefatigable, employed him in the department for foreign affairs. After the tranſactions of the 10th of Auguſt, 1792, he became ſecretary of ſtate; in January following, he ſigned the death-warrant for the execution of his ſovereign, and ſoon afterwards propoſed that war ſhould be declared againſt Great Britain and Holland,

which he had long aimed at, and for which he was afterwards denounced. In May or June, 1793, he was discovered concealed in the Fauxbourg St. Marceau: having been previously declared an outlaw, nothing more was required than to identify his person, and being conducted from the cavern to which he had fled for security, to the fate which his crimes had long deserved, he perished on the scaffold where his King had recently been murdered!

Their direful fate a moral lesson brings,
To upstart greatness, and to thoughtless Kings;
Their direful fate to full-blown pride makes known,
How very little man can call his own.
Vain all the bustle of this fleeting life,
Vain all our pleasing hopes and anxious strife,
Vain all our joys! since to one common end,
Hope, strife, and joy in wond'rous haste descend!

I do not know that I reason better in verse than in prose; but such are the train of reflections which the extraordinary events in the French revolution, never fail to excite in my afflicted mind, whenever the painful subject occurs; and such the brief history of a man whom the turbulence of the times had lifted from the lowest almost of all possible situations, to the highest. The sudden rise and rapid fall of this man furnish a world of matter for very serious reflection, and if the sad destiny of Louis the XVIth proves the instability of human gran-

deur, I am ſure the chequer'd hiſtory of this man abundantly ſhews how very much we are the ſport and ridicule of fortune! It may not be improper to obſerve again, before I terminate this long note, that one of the charges which brought Monſ. Le Brun to the block, was his having provoked the war with England. The condemnation of the French miniſter on this occaſion, by his own countrymen, is (as I have already ſaid) a virtual acquittal of the Engliſh one, and will, I hope, reſcue him in future from this calumny, and its intended effects. The letter ſubjoined was addreſſed by M. Le Brun in 1789, to the Comte de Trauttmanſdorff, the Imperial miniſter at Bruxelles.

It will ſhew the profound diſſimulation and ingenuity of a man who ſeems only to have obtained a momentary triumph over his fortunes, that he might afterwards feel more bitterly and more conſpicuouſly their fierce reverſe, and fall unlamented a victim to his pride, vanity, and guilt; his ſtrange hiſtory renders whatever relates to him intereſting, and under this impreſſion it is that I have given publicity to the letter in queſtion.

The Government of Bruſſelles, after the troubles had ſubſided in 1787, became a ſcene of impudent and ſcandalous intrigues of various kinds: neither the Miniſter, Mr. de Trauttſmandorff, nor

nor the Commander in Chief M. D'Alton, had the talents and moderation neceſſary for their elevated ſituations at any period, and leaſt of all in times of civil diſtraction. The former of theſe was vain, ignorant, and weak; the latter was equally ignorant, brutal, and haughty, from the protection he received at Vienna, through the influence and credit of M. De Laſcy, with the Emperor. The man, with whoſe wife the Miniſter lived in equal intimacy with the huſband, aſpired to the chief command, and was aſſiſted in his pretenſions with all the intereſt of the man who diſhonoured him. The Commander in Chief was no leſs occupied in uſing his credit with the Emperor to get the Chancellor Crumpippen appointed Miniſter; and thus the two men who ought to have held moſt together, for their fortunes were, by the circumſtances of the times, united, caballed againſt each other, and mutually labored to deſtroy each other. The conſequence was, that the troubles in the Low Countries increaſed under their adminiſtration, and as the civil and military departments were in known hoſtility to each other, the Government not only became weak and contemptible, but loſt all its elaſticity as well as energy. The conduct of theſe two men offers another wholeſome leſſon to Princes not to confide the adminiſtration of public affairs to men with different views, and who have as little capacity as union. M. D'Al-

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ton, to excuſe a conduct more than criminal, and to throw the whole blame on his colleague, attributed in a memoir, written in juſtification of the Commander in Chief, the entire loſs of the Belgic Provinces to the miſconduct of the Count de Trauttſmandorff. This memoir was written, at Mr. D'Alton's requeſt, by Le Brun, who having an antipathy to both men, thought it a very fair opportunity to draw money from both, and for this purpoſe he addreſſed the following letter to the Imperial Miniſter, which not producing the deſired effect, the memoir was inſtantly publiſhed.

From Monſieur Le BRUN *to Count de* TRAUTTSMANSDORFF.

Liege, le 20 *Decembre*, 1789.

" MONSIEUR LE COMTE,

" IL fut un temps heureux où votre influence immediate ſur le gouvernement général des Pays Bas, vous laiſſoit tous les moyens de faire reparer une injuſtice à notre egard.* Il n'y a pas un an, il n'y a pas même huit mois, votre Excellence pouvoit encore nous aſſures ſans obſtacle, et nous faire obtenir

* Alluding to his having defended the Emperor in 1787, when he fled for protection to Vienna. He had two interviews with the Emperor, who did not even defray the expences of his journey; and, but for the trifle I ſent him, both he and his colleague muſt have begged their way back. All that they obtained was permiſſion to reſume their journal.

obtenir ſans delai le rembourſement de tout ce que nous avons perdu pour avoir epouſé trop chaudement la cauſe de feu l'Empereur.—Si vous l'aviez fait Monſieur le Comte, ce ſervice n'eut pas été perdu pour votre Excellence : nous aurions la douce ſatisfaction aujourd'hui de lui prouver que nous ne ſommes pas ingrats.

" Nous ne chercherons pas à perſuader ici votre Excellence qu'il étoit de l'interet de la Maiſon d'Autriche que nous fuſſions complettement ſatisfaits à cet egard.—Au beſoin nous pourrions en donner les motifs, et prouve que ſi l'on nous eut mis à couvert de nos pertes paſſées, et des riſques futurs, nous euſſions ſu alors employer des moyens propres à fixer la fermentation en faveur de Souverain, malgré les intrigues des deux partis.

" Non, ce n'eſt point le moment d'agiter cette queſtion, mais le temps eſt venu de vous dire M. le Comte, qu'il eſt toujours de l'interêt du gouvernement, ſurtout quand il doit compte de ſes actions à un chef ſupreme, de ne point dedaigner les repreſentations fondées, des gens de lettres, et principalement de ceux qui ont ſu s'emparer de l'opinion publique.—Le gouvernement du Pays Bas, votre Excellence le ſait mieux que perſonne, a marqué envers nous à cette maxime politique.—Si nous etions haineux, l'occaſion de nous en dommager

ger ſe preſente, et nous en profiterions,—mais le fiel de la vengeance ne troublera jamais la ſerenité de nos ames; cette paſſion eſt au deſſous de nos caractères; il eſt plus doux d'être utile; nous avons toujours cherché à l'être, et *c'eſt le parti que nous prendrons à l'egard de votre Excellence, dans une affaire très delicate qui la concerne, et qui implique ſerieuſement d'autres perſonnages importans.—Mais comme il eſt plus que temps que nous penſions ſerieuſement à reparer la brêche faite à notre fortune, il faut un accommodement entre les intereſſés et nous, à fin que nous co-operions à les ſauver d'une diſgrace certaine.* Aujourd'hui ſurtout, que pour avoir parlé en faveur de Leopold, pour avoir travaillé à lui conſerver des partiſans, nous nous trouvons de nouveaux les victimes de notre dévouement à la Maiſon d'Autriche, et que pour recompenſe, notre journal eſt encore interdit, prohibé, et arrêté pour toutes les provinces; ce qui depuis deux à trois mois nous occaſionne une nouvelle perte de 4 à 500 louis. Voici Monſieur le Comte de quoi il eſt queſtion de vous à nous—une perſonne que vous devinerez peut-être, mais que nous ne pouvons encore vous nommer, nous a propoſé de rediger un mémoire pour feu le Général Comte D'Alton* et nous a remis en conſéquence des papiers de la plus grande importance.—Entre autres il ſe trouve beaucoup de lettres originals, partie votre Excellence, partie de certaines autres perſonnes attachées à des interets qui n'etoient pas trop, ceux du Souverain. Des dépêches miniſtérielles, des rapports, &c.

nous

* M. Jaubert.

nous ne vous cacherons pas M. le Comte *qu'une main habile* pourroit faire un terrible uſage de cet enſemble de pieces qui toutes portent avec elles un caractére irrecuſable d'authenticité.—Elles peuvent non ſeulement ſervir à l'entière juſtification de Comte D'Alton, mais encore à perdre pluſieurs perſonnes dans l'opinion publique et dans l'eſprit du Roi d'Hongrie, & à en denoncer plus d'une, comme reſponſable de la perte actuelle des provinces Belgiques.—On peut aiſément conjecturer d'apres tous les renſeignemens que nous avons, que vous avez été, M. le Comte, entrainé dans une cabale dont vous ignoriez peut-être encore les projets et le but. Cette cabale exiſtoit avant votre nomination au Miniſtère; et celui qui la conduiſoit, l'homme le plus adroitment ambitieux, avoit tout prévu pour s'emparer de votre Excellence à ſon arrivée aux Pays Bas, c'etoit le plus difficile; il a aiſément alors continué à vous diriger, l'ecueil etoit peut-être inevitable.

" Tout autre qu'un homme nourri dès l'enfance dans les grands principes d'adminiſtration, dans ceux de cette philoſophie eclairée qui conduit aujourd'hui l'Aſſembleé Nationale de France, tout autre y auroit ſuccombé; & ſi la Revolution n'eut pas été conſommée, votre Excellence et le General d'Armes euſſent probablement été ſacrifiés—c'etoit le but—Les affaires ayant pris une tournure toute

 differente

differente de ce qu'on eſperoit, il n'a pas été de l'interêt de vos alentours de vous compromettre, & on a cru plus aiſé et plus court de ſacrifier le Général D'Alton—et il eſt mort ! Mais pas aſſez tôt pour ſes ennemis ; car il a en le tems d'inſtruire un vengeur, et de remettre entre ſes mains de terribles monumens des intrigues des cours ; heureuſement celui-ci s'eſt addreſſé à nous pour en être ſecondé. *Vos interéts M. le Comte exigent d'aſſoupir entierement cette affaire, et d'empécher à tout prix la publication du memoire dont nous nous ſommes chargés. Mais vous ſentez bien qu'il en coutera pour y parvenir.* 1. *Il faut gagner l'ami de M. D'Alton,* car il a imaginé toutes les précautions pour ne point être pris au depourvu.*

" Il a depoſé une copie authentique de tous ſes papiers en Hollande. Il en tient une autre, nous en avons une auſſi, et les originaux vont être mis ſous peu en lieu de ſureté.—*Mais ſi nous ſommes ſecondés, nous pouvons promettre de l'amener à nos vues, et de terminer l'affaire à votre ſatisfaction.* 2. *Pour ſacrifier les avantages que nous ſommes aſſurés de retirer de la compoſition et du debit de ce memoire, il faut que nous en ſoyions largement dédommagés.*—Nous vous avouons cependant qui ſi nous avions obtenu dans

* Jaubert, this friend of Mr. D'Alton applied to me to procure him permiſſion to go to Botany Bay in 1788.

W. M.

le temps nos indemnités, nous aurions rougi, de mettre un prix à ce ſervice ; mais le tort que ce refus tacite de la part de votre Excellence nous a occaſioné eſt incalculable, & nous ſommes dans l'embarras ; conſultez vous M. le Comte, et conſultez les autres perſonnes egalement intereſſé à ce que rien ne tranſpire ; et faites nous ſans delai connoitre vos intentions.—Mais entre-tems, comme l'eloignement où vous vous trouverez les uns des autres laiſſeroit un trop long intervale entre vos reponſes, reciproques, et celle que nous attendons de votre Excellence, nous vous prions de nous accuſer la reception de la preſente, courrier par courrier, *et nous vous promettons de tenir la choſe en ſur-ſéance juſqu' à ce momet*, et à tous evenemens ſi l'ami de Monſieur D'Alton ne vouloit pas capituler—Il y aura d'autres moyens de ſervir votre Excellence, que nous nous reſervons de lui develloper au beſoin.

" Etoit ſigné,

" Le Brun."*

* Vide the end of the Appendix for the Tranſlation to the above Letter.

APPENDIX a.

It has been my misfortune to have incurred this reproach, and moſt certainly without having ever deſerved it; writing has been an amuſement to me from my infancy, but if it was even my reſource for a maintenance, I would rather renounce my exiſtence than diſhonour literature by falſifying my principles, or writing to gratify private perſonal revenge. The one I hold to be infamous, and the other both infamous and unmanly.

Among the many tales that malice has whiſpered, and folly believed, is that of my having received *five hundred pounds from the Duke of Bedford, for the letter which I addreſſed, through the medium of the preſs, to Mr. Henry Duncombe!* Thoſe who have ſpread ſuch a report would have approached nearer to the confines of probability, if they had ſaid, that the haggard antiquated rival of her Royal Highneſs had been penſioned by Mother Windſor to keep her in countenance—but it is not only on this occaſion that I have been miſrepreſented, every paſſage in which I have

have endeavoured to do juſtice to the former meaſures of government has been aſcribed to ſome unworthy motive, in which it has even been aſſerted, that on a recent occaſion I had written at the inſtigation of the Miniſter for a purpoſe that I truſt he would diſdain as much and as vehemently as myſelf. This ſlander was in ſuch currency, from the unuſual induſtry of thoſe whoſe object it was to render Carleton Houſe once more a tower of ſtrength to their ambition, that the miniſter, I am told, formally contradicted it to the perſonage whom it was moſt neceſſary to preſerve from deluſion.

I do not hold this fact from any perſon connected with government, but from a gentleman with whom I have the honour to be acquainted, a perſon of rank, who is very much attached to his Royal Highneſs, and I believe in his confidence; and who certainly is not in the habits of intimacy with the Miniſter, or favourably diſpoſed towards his meaſures, I had flattered myſelf that a note in the preface to a former publication * would have preſerved me from a reproach

* "That the various deſcriptions of people who have attached themſelves to the fortunes of Mr. Fox, with a view to the improvement of their own, ſhould inſinuate that the author of this letter is a miniſterial ſcribbler, becauſe he has cenſured the

proach ſo illiberal and unjuſt; a reproach which no penury of fortune ſhould ever force me to deſerve: but as an opinion ſo injurious to my character

the conduct of oppoſition, has nothing in it to ſurpriſe or offend. It is perfectly in the order of things, that they ſhould draw ſuch an inference. It is the common and diſgraceful logic of all parties, and appertaining no leſs to the faction in power, than to that which is out. There is no doubt but it will be made uſe of by both, without the leaſt regard either to fact or decency whenever it ſuits their reſpective intereſts.

" The attempt that has been made to diſcredit the following pages, and deſtroy their intended effect, by repreſenting the author as a venal partizan of the Miniſter (as if the charge of venality could controvert facts!) certainly deſerves notice: not on account of the author, for he has no ſchemes of perſonal ambition to gratify; he neither covets wealth nor popularity, and feels no other ſtimulus to action than the love of right: but on this occaſion the cauſe of letters appears to be, in ſome degree, connected with the queſtion of his guilt or innocence; and he hopes, by vindicating the purity of his intentions, to reſcue literature in ſome ſort, from the contempt and ignominy into which both parties ſeem anxious to involve it, in order that it ſhould be formidable to neither, and that its exertions in the cauſe of truth or freedom ſhould be without effect.

" The ſtrong internal evidence of truth and independence which every page of this pamphlet offers to the unbiaſſed judgment of mankind, would have preſerved the author from a reproach ſo foul and unmerited, if the extreme profligacy of venal writers, hired by contending factions to praiſe what they approve, and to decry what they condemn, had not thrown a general odium on almoſt every ſpecies of political writing.

" The

ter and offenſive to my feelings, may yet, perhaps, be kept in malevolent circulation by the ingenuity of thoſe who deviſed it, it is a juſtice that I owe to myſelf,

" The forlorn and hapleſs female, compelled by the perfidy of her ſeducer, to ſeek refuge from famine and deſpair in the reſources of proſtitution, has an excuſe in her misfortunes for the infamy of her calling, and claims at once the pity and forgiveneſs of the world! But man, with numberleſs avenues to honeſt honourable competency before him, and free to chuſe! that he ſhould become a willing proſtitute, a ſlave to faction, or a pander to authority, is as lamentable as it is vile and inexcuſable!

" That he, whoſe talents and attainments enable him to promote the general happineſs of ſociety, ſhould degrade, pervert, and ſacrifice *man's nobleſt faculties* to ſerve the purpoſe of ſordid avarice and irregular ambition; that he ſhould proſtitute thoſe talents and attainments to the cauſe of faction, and deſcending to flatter guilt or imbecility, become an inſtrument, a mere automaton, in the hands of clerks, fitted by nature to the deſks they write at, is as incomprehenſible, as it is humiliating and offenſive! Nor is it leſs humiliating and offenſive to reflect, that thoſe whoſe duty it is to cheriſh integrity and talents ſhould have an intereſt in debaſing them, and ſeek, in the degradation of literature, the means of aggrandizing themſelves and their dependents, as if their paltry intereſts were ſuperior to thoſe of the community, or that government was beſt ſupported by trick, fraud, and violence!

" It is full time that literature ſhould vindicate itſelf from ſuch aſperſion. A rectitude of conduct, as well as of intention, can alone entitle it to reſpect, and this character once eſtabliſhed, it will reſume its proper rank in ſociety, and obtain that influence over

myſelf, as well as to the Miniſter and his friends, to declare, that he never ſuggeſted to me any one of the ſubjects on which I have preſumed to publiſh

over the public mind, which will operate as a check on the arrogant and preſumptuous ignorance of one party, and on the ſiniſter and miſchievous deſigns of the other. The author of the following pages, whoſe character, habits, and language, place him equally above the calumny of thoſe who are enriched by human calamity, and of thoſe who, under the maſk of patriotiſm, would throw the nation into anarchy, feels it incumbent on him to declare, that it is his firm and unalterable opinion that an oppoſition is as neceſſary to the preſervation of liberty, as an adminiſtration is to that of order; but he will never condeſcend to decorate with an epithet ſo dignified the conſpiracy of a few individuals, whoſe indiſcriminate oppoſition to every meaſure of the Crown is well known, and from melancholy experience, to be nothing more than an intereſted, ſelfiſh conteſt for power, for the ſake of the emoluments and patronage of office; he will never countenance the impudent pretenſions of men, who having already deceived the people, have forfeited all claim to their confidence, and ought not to be truſted; whoſe ſcandalous and diſhonourable ſcramble for places has brought oppoſition into diſrepute and contempt, from which it can only be extricated by other men coming forward, with other principles, and with unblemiſhed characters. Nor is the author of the following letter conſcious that any thing he has ever written can be conſtrued into a fulſome or an unmerited panegyric of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whoſe conduct, capacity, and meaſures, ſhall, when neceſſary, be inveſtigated with the ſame freedom and inflexible regard to juſtice, which characterize this pamphlet.

" In

liſh my ſentiments, nor has he ever been in any one inſtance whatever, appriſed of my intentions before they were executed.

I am little verſed in drawing declarations; it is the buſineſs of a ſpecial pleader, to which I confeſs myſelf unequal, but I wiſh it to be fully and unequivocally underſtood, and at the ſame to be received with all the honeſt welcome due to truth, that neither Mr. Pitt nor the Secretaries of the Treaſury, nor any particular friends of the Miniſter, ever were conſulted by me, or ſaw either the letter in queſtion, or any other of my pamphlets,

" In ſpeaking of him comparatively with Mr. Fox, on the ſubject of the unjuſtifiable application to Parliament on the part of his Royal Highneſs, to diſcharge debts improvidently contracted, and in breach of a ſolemn promiſe, voluntarily given to the nation, the author has done nothing more than render a juſt tribute of praiſe to the former which was due to him; and if the conduct of the two gentlemen on this occaſion had been reverſed, the merit (which by the bye was merely negative) would have been accorded without heſitation to the latter. For the author of this pamphlet is the laſt man in the world to go to market for opinions or applauſe. He diſdains the unworthy, the diſgraceful traffic, and rigidly attached to principles which cannot be controverted, he will never condemn Mr. Fox when he is in the right, nor ſupport Mr. Pitt when he is in the wrong.

Preface to the Letter addreſſed to the Prince of Wales, page 8.

until they were printed and expoſed to the cenſure or the approbation of the world.

It is at all times painful to be miſunderſtood, and infinitely more ſo to be miſrepreſented. I aſpire to no dignities, I look forward to no employment, nor is it my intention to ſolicit any favours, either from the preſent adminiſtration, or from any future. I do not mean to aſſail the Treaſury with a piſtol in one hand, and a pen in the other; and I do not think that either party will compliment me from affection. My lot is humble, but it contents me; I am happy, and ſhall be more ſo when my mind emancipates itſelf from the gloom in which the folly and perfidy of politics has too long enveloped it. All that I deſire of mankind is juſtice, but unfortunately for thoſe who wiſh it, and who have nothing to fear from it, there is nothing in nature more difficult to obtain!

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APPENDIX b.

A FRENCH biſhop, whoſe name I forbear to mention, in compaſſion to his misfortunes, required Government ſome time ſince to puniſh the author and printer of ſome paragraphs which appeared in a daily paper, lamenting the dangerous increaſe, and condemning, in general terms, without any mention of names, the conduct of that claſs of Frenchmen, who, inſtead of flying in all directions from their country on the firſt alarm, ought to have ſtaid at home, as Engliſhmen would have done under ſimilar circumſtances, and have defended their acres, their wives, and their children. I will not comment on the impertinence of men, who were cowards at that time, and have been traitors of the very worſt deſcription ever ſince, and who have proved an equal curſe to this country and their own; neither will I expatiate on the folly which imagined that Miniſters, who are daily expoſed to the moſt ſevere animadverſions in the public prints, could prevent the appearance of ſimilar ſtrictures on the conduct of others. I will

merely ſuggeſt to theſe tenacious gentlemen, whoſe prejudices ſeem to gather ſtrength from diſgrace and misfortune, and who are neither to be taught wiſdom by experience, nor philoſophy by example, whether their having applied theſe general alluſions to themſelves is not a ſtrong preſumption that they felt the juſtice of the reproach, and that it was their conſcience that ſpoke through their vanity? they are yet to learn, that it is a maxim in equity, that thoſe who vindicate themſelves before they are accuſed are guilty; but whether theſe men, ſitting in vindictive judgment on ſuch of their hapleſs countrymen, who, anxious to preſerve a medium between deſpotiſm and anarchy, have failed in the laudable attempt, and become outcaſts, are innocent or guilty, their application was impertinent, and proves they are not to be corrected even by the ſevereſt leſſons of adverſity. Surely theſe gentlemen have been long enough in England to know, that Miniſters have neither the power nor the right to interdict any animadverſions; that the laws alone can take cognizance of them, and even theſe are without activity, however ſevere the animadverſions may be, whenever they are founded in truth and juſtice. Let this officious prieſt be told (for it is never too late to learn) that if he reads his breviary more, and meddles leſs with the affairs of this world, it will

will better ſuit his age and functions; while his companions in this ridiculous and fruitleſs expedition to Whitehall (would to God I could call it the funeral proceſſion of their vanity and arrogance!) may learn from its failure, that truth is not to be ſilenced in this country by the rude hand of power; and that no claſs of men, however exalted in rank or fortune, are exempt from cenſure when their conduct deſerves it.

Should ever the pretenſions of this worſt deſcription of emigrants to the hoſpitality they have received be examined; ſhould ever the pretenſions of theſe men to our confidence be inveſtigated; of theſe men whoſe unrelenting vengeance exacts from the valour of this country, in oppoſition to its juſtice the full reſtoration of tyranny and ſuperſtition, on the ſhores they have abandoned, and who fondly believe that the ſole object of the war is to reinſtate them in the power they have forfeited, and in the poſſeſſions they have diſhonoured,* it will be found that the confidence they have received, has been abuſed to the very

* "*Pourquoi, Monſieur, voulez vous qu'on faſſe la paix, nous n'avons pas encore nos biens?*" Such was the anſwer of an emigrant of this deſcription to a gentleman, who expreſſed a wiſh for peace; and theſe men, like the Jews, ſtill believe in a Meſſiah!

extent to which it has been given, and miniſters, awakened from their dream of unconditional ſubmiſſion, will ultimately execrate, as I do, the blind infatuated objects who have ſo fatally miſled them.

I aver it as a fact, founded on the authority of French hiſtory, and confirmed by the knowledge of every candid and well-informed man, that it is owing to the French nobility (laity and clergy) and to the unexampled profligacy in which ſeveral of them lived, that the French revolution is to be attributed. It is to thoſe who rendered this dreadful expedient, this terrible remedy, a meaſure of neceſſity, by their prodigality and vexations, that all the miſchiefs and all the horrors that have enſued are to be attributed: they are, in fact, the authors of the revolution, and not the blind miſguided rabble, or even the factious and unprincipled few who headed that rabble in 1789. The direful change in France has been produced by the higheſt orders in ſociety: men who, with their families and dependents, lived in ſplendor and in pomp on the plunder of their country, whoſe diſſolute manners were a ſcandal to religion and morals, and who baſked in the ſunſhine of the Court of Verſailles, and ſharing its profuſion, partook of its crimes!—The hiſtory of France is another woeful proof, that revolutions

tions do not originate with the people, but in vicious and corrupt governments; but for these vices and these corruptions, the huge and terrific mass which cannot be contemplated without horror, would have remained passive and inert. It is now in motion with a force that appears irresistible, and an irregularity that defies prescience to ascertain its direction. Hence, my great cause of quarrel; hence, the contempt and abhorrence in which I hold this remnant of a worthless and perfidious Court, whose bankruptcy has produced calamities of an extent and duration unexampled in history, and which, after having deluged France with blood, has plunged my country in a war, the issue of which it is impossible to foresee. But for the wanton abuse of power in the Court of Versailles, but for its scandalous profusion, rapacity, and profligacy, the monarchy of France would have been in existence, while Europe, preserved from the dreadful convulsions which agitate it from one extremity to the other, would most probably have continued in the full enjoyment of peace, order, and security.

It is to those to whom the cause of humanity is dear; to those in whose virtuous minds the happiness and freedom of mankind have an honourable, permanent hold. It is to those in whose esti-

mation

mation the people count for ſomething, and thoſe who govern them for no more than they deſerve, that I appeal, to pardon the warmth and intemperance with which I have execrated the fatal, treble conſequences of guilt, folly, and ignorance, combined; and not to the cold-blooded few who WILL millions to death as caprice, intereſt, or ambition dictates!

APPENDIX, No. I.

MEMORANDUMS.

Tueſday, November 13, 1792.

At half paſt 1, *P. M.*

MONSIEUR **** called on me, and informed me that a miniſter would be named very ſoon by the executive council at Paris, to this Court, and that if he was not inſtantly received, war would be declared againſt this country.—That if he was received, an alliance would be propoſed, and if this ſhould be rejected, ill conſequences would reſult.

I aſked him if he was authoriſed to ſay as much: he ſaid, not abſolutely, but that he ſoon ſhould be.

I inquired if he knew for a certainty that it was the wiſh of France to be united to this country. He anſwered, that the debates in the Committee of Miniſters proved it, if he had not other aſſurances, but that he knew from his correſpondence with thoſe miniſters, that it was their wiſh, and that it was their intention, to put the good or bad diſpoſition of this country very ſpeedily to the teſt.

I mentioned the poſſibility of being deceived by France, and that the diſtruſt which prevailed in England might operate againſt any treaty of alliance with France. He replied, that the actual government could be better depended upon than that of Verſailles.

I then inquired if he thought the French government would pledge itſelf not to attempt any revolution in this country by intrigue and cabal, and whether it would engage itſelf to guarantee the internal tranquillity of the nation, as well as its independence and poſſeſſions without. He aſſured me that he could anſwer in the affirmative, and that France at this time felt herſelf ſo powerful, and at the ſame time ſo well diſpoſed towards this country, that ſhe would make the offer of friendſhip for the purpoſe of ſecuring the peace of the world, but that ſhe as little dreaded England as ſhe did the republic of Raguſa.*

In

* The perſon with whom the above converſation paſſed poſſeſſed a mind wonderfully intelligent, but heated or rather infected, in common with the reſt of his countrymen, with that enthuſiaſm which could alone enſure ſucceſs to the revolution, againſt ſo many powerful aſſailants. He ſtated to me in a detail which I thought ſavoured more of prejudice than of fact, the reſources of his country, and the ſituation of France with ſome of the Courts of Europe. The events of the war have proved his information to have been perfectly juſt; and it is ſeriouſly to be lamented, that his countrymen

trymen

In the courſe of the converſation he acknowledged that the intention of this country would be demanded, under the idea that in the ſpring it intended to take a part againſt France. I found that the council at Paris was much alarmed, and I alſo diſcovered that people have been employed to ſtart queſtions in the debating ſocieties in London, for the purpoſe of inflaming the minds of the people againſt a neutrality that is conſidered as dangerous and ſuſpicious. I was given to underſtand that this was the favourable moment for an union with France, and that as it was known that I was a friend to liberty, and known to miniſters, the offer was made to me to pave the way for this deſirable alliance, if I would undertake it; and that I ſhould receive every confidential communication I could deſire, relative to the views of France, and the particulars of the baſis on which it was propoſed to form a treaty. The queſtions I aſked are to be tranſ-

in England, who are ſuſpected of poſſeſſing a credit with adminiſtration which they do not deſerve, had been as well verſed in political arithmetic, and leſs under the influence of their original ſin which no baptiſm can purify. If my intelligence is correct, I believe that Mr. Pitt received much about the ſame time information of a ſimilar nature from a gentleman worthy of credit, who had been a member of one of the Ephemery adminiſtrations in France. I certainly do not mean M. Bertrand. The perſon, however, did not receive, as I have been told, that credit which was due to the accuracy of his ſtatement.

mitted by the meſſenger this evening to Paris, and I am promiſed to be told the reſult.

It appears to me that the French are playing a very artful, but ſure game, with this country. Their object is to enliſt the people in their intereſt, to alienate men's minds from monarchy, and to reducing government to the neceſſity of coming into their views. The queſtion lately ſtarted at a debating ſociety in the city, proves that indiſcreet meaſures are taking to force miniſters into an avowed approbation of the French revolution, and an alliance with the Republic; and if the French are not powerfully checked in their career of victory; if even this country will have no alternative but war; and if war, it will be the moſt furious that ever exiſted: it will be the hiſtory of Rome and Carthage revived, and Great Britain, in that caſe, may poſſibly experience the ſad deſtiny of the latter!

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. II.

Londres, le 28 Novembre, ſoir, 1792, l'an 1er. de la Republique Françoiſe.

" MONSIEUR,

" JE reçois à l'inſtant votre billet de ce matin, et je m'empreſſe d'y repondre. Je ſuis infiniment ſenſible à la delicateſſe avec laquelle vous avez refuſé de me nommer à Monſieur Pitt ; vous connaiſſez la pureté de mes principes, et des motifs qui m'ont engagés à vous parler de l'utilité qu'il y auroit à un rapprochement très prochain entre nos deux pays. Vous pouvez d'après cela dire au Miniſtre que ce ſera avec empreſſement que je ſaiſirai l'occaſion de lui prouver mon zèle à ſervir ma patrie, et mon deſir d'être utile à la votre, en m'occupans des moyens les plus prompts d'operer une réunion ſi neceſſaire, et que les circonſtances ou les prejugés ont ſi long tems éloignée.

" Croyés, Monſieur, à la ſincerité de l'amitié que je vous ai depuis long tems voués et à l'éſtime qu'on a ſi aiſement pour vous dès qu'on a le bonheur de vous connaitre.

" ****."

A Monſieur MILES,
Cleveland Row, St. James's.

TRANS-

TRANSLATION.

London, 28th of November, at night, 1792, the first year of the French Republic.

" SIR,

" I HAVE this instant received your note, and fly to answer it. I am extremely sensible of your delicacy in refusing to name me to Mr. Pitt; you know the purity of my principles, and the motives which engaged me to speak to you upon the utility of a proper understanding between the two countries. You may, Sir, on the receipt of this, inform the Minister, that I shall seize with avidity this occasion to convince him of my zeal to serve my country, and the great desire I have to be useful to your's, in studying the best means of accomplishing an union so necessary, and which either the prejudices or the circumstances of the times have so long prevented. Confide, Sir, in the sincerity of that friendship which I have long felt for you, and that esteem which those who have the happiness to know you.

" I am, &c.

" ****."

To Mr. MILES.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. III.

To Mr. Le BRUN.

A Londres, 19 *Dec.* 1792.

" JE vous ai déja écrit par Monſieur Maret qui eſt parti hier pour ſe rendre à Paris. Je vous écris encore aujourd'hui confidentiellement et c'eſt Monſ. Noel qui aura la bonté de vous faire paſſer ma lettre.

" Je ne ſais pas de quelle maniere Mr. ***** s'eſt expliqué, ſur ce qui s'eſt paſſé ici; mais il me ſemble que vous étes dans une erreur qui pourrait vous faire agir tout autrement que vous ne le devez.

" On vous a fait croire que c'étoit Mr. Pitt qui avoit provoqué la conference qu'il a eu avec M. Maret, et c'eſt probablement dans cette croyance que vous avez pris un ton peu convenable aux circonſtances, et qui pourroit éloigner au lieu de rapprocher les deux nations.

" C'eſt moi qui fus la cauſe de cette conference, c'eſt moi qui l'ai fait propoſée au Miniſtre, et c'eſt moi qui l'ai obtenu. Mr. ***** depuis quelques mois laiſſait échapper quelques mots de tems en tems qui me faiſoient croire qu'il avoit des relations directes

directes avec le pouvoir executif à Paris, et finalement qu'il étoit autorisé à traiter secrettement avec notre gouvernement; comme j'ai toujours desiré, et peut-être plus que personne, la réunion des deux pays—comme j'ai toujours mis un grand prix à une alliance si convenable à la France et à l'Angleterre; je me suis déterminé, dès que je serai assuré de la mission de *****, de me mettre en avant pour réaliser un objet que j'ai eu très sincerement à cœur depuis l'an 1781, apres que cette résolution fut prise: j'ai demandé ***** à la premiere fois qu'il est venu chez moi, s'il étoit vraiment autorisé à traiter confidentiellement avec le ministre? il me répondit qu'oui; alors j'ai pris les mesures nécessaires pour obtenir la conference qu'il desirait avoir. Après beaucoup de peine de mon côté, et beaucoup de pour parler: on m'a demandé le nom de celui qui etoit autorisé par le pouvoir executif à traiter avec le gouvernement, j'ai refusé net de le nommer sans une assurance positive qu'il seroit reçu, et même avec cette assurance je ne voulois le nommer sans sa permission.

" J'écrivis ensuite à Mr. ***** la lettre dont je vous envoye ci-incluse la copie. Mr. ***** m'a toujours juré qu'il étoit autorisé à voir le Ministre, et je vous laisse à juger de ma surprise, quand j'ai vu sortir de derriere le rideau M. Maret, comme chargé d'une mission secrette, et que c'étoit lui, et non Mr. ***** qui devoit voir Mr. Pitt. Si j'ai

été étonné de tout ce qui s'eſt paſſé, j'ai du l'être bien d'avantage quand j'ai appris que M. Mare n'etait pas autoriſé de traiter des affaires politiques entre les deux nations, mais un autre !

" Voila l'hiſtoire abregée de cette ridicule avanture qui m'ôtera à jamais peut-être les moyens d'entamer une négotiation ſi vous n'autoriſez pas Maret ou Noel à donner des explications ſuffiſantes ſur les points qui ſemblent donner, et avec raiſon, de l'inquietude à notre gouvernement. Vous verrez par ce détail avec combien de delicateſſe, de bonne foi, et de fermeté, je me ſuis conduit dans cette affaire, et que ce n'a été nullement M. Pitt ; mais Mr. Miles, qui a provoqué l'entrevue qu'a eu M. Maret avec le Miniſtre. Je ſuis très mécontent de ce que le *****. Vous ait induit en erreur, ce qui pourra avoir des ſuites facheuſes, et je vous prie de bien réflechir ſur les inſtances que je vous fais encore, de ne pas perdre un moment à réparer la faute qu'un mal-entendu me paroit avoir produite. M. Maret vous donnera, ſans doute, des éclairciſſemens ſur bien des choſes que vous ne pouvez ſavoir que par lui. Il ne vous diſſimulera pas l'attachement du peuple pour la conſtitution, et ſa loyauté pour le Roi et ſon gouvernement. Il vous dira, que loin de vouloir adopter les rêveries bizarres qui ſont à la mode actuellement en France, il eſt déterminé, coute qu'il coute, de laiſſer choſes comme elles ſont, et de ne permettre qu'on porte à la conſtitu-

tion aucune atteinte ſous pretexte de réforme, par conſéquent on vous a cruellement trompé, en vous aſſurant " *que le peuple Anglois mécontent et opprimé n'at-* " *tend que le ſignal pour ſe revolter* ;"* au contraire, il eſt content, heureux, et attaché au Roi, aux loix, et à ſa patrie, et prêt à les defendre juſqu'à la derniere goute de ſon ſang.

" Voilà le vrai état des choſes. Jugez d'apres cela s'il vous convient de déclarer la guerre à une nation ſi unanime et ſi puiſſante? J'attens votre réponſe avec empreſſement.

" W. MILES."

A Monſieur LE BRUN,
Miniſtre pour des Affaires Etrangéres, à Paris.

TRANSLATION.

London, Dec. 19, 1792.

" I HAVE already written to you, by Mr. Maret, who left this yeſterday on his way to Paris; I write to you again to-day, in confidence, and it is Mr. Noel who will have the goodneſs to tranſmit my letter to you. I do not know in what manner Mr. ***** explained what has paſſed here; but it appears to me that you are in an error, which may make you act very differently to what you

* Report of Le Brun to the Convention.

ought;

ought; you were made to believe that Mr. Pitt desired the conference which he had with Mr. Maret, in consequence of which you have used a a stile which is certainly ill adapted to the circumstances of the moment, and which may separate instead of uniting the two nations: it was owing to me that that conference took place; Mr. ***** for several months past, had thrown out hints that he was in correspondence with the executive power at Paris, and finally, that he was authorised to treat secretly with our government: as I have always desired, perhaps more than any one else, an alliance between the two countries, as I have always estimated very highly an alliance so necessary to France and England, I resolved, the instant I was assured of the mission of Mr. *****, to do every thing in my power to accomplish a project which I have had sincerely at heart since the year 1781; this resolution taken, I asked Mr. *****, the first time that he came to me afterwards, if he was really authorised to treat confidentially with the Minister, he answered in the affirmative; it was then that I took the necessary measures to obtain that conference: after much trouble, I was asked the name of the person whom you had authorised, and I refused to name him without a positive assurance that he would be received, and even with this assurance, I would not name him before I had his permission. I wrote immediately to Mr. ***** a copy of which I inclose you, Mr. ***** always

proteſted to me that he was authoriſed to ſee Mr. Pitt, and I leave you to judge of my ſurpriſe when I beheld Monſieur Maret produced from behind the curtain, as charged with a ſecret miſſion, and that it was him, and not Mr. *****, who was to ſee Mr. Pitt: if I was aſtoniſhed at what had happened, I was much more ſo when I was informed that it was not Mr. Maret, but another, who was authoriſed. Behold, Sir, the real hiſtory, which may deprive me for ever, perhaps, of the means of opening a negotiation, unleſs you authoriſe either Maret or Noel to give ſatisfactory explanations upon thoſe points, which appear, and with reaſon, to have given great uneaſineſs to government: you will ſee by this detail, with what delicacy, firmneſs, and fidelity I have conducted myſelf in this buſineſs, and that it was not Mr. Pitt, but Mr. Miles, who was the occaſion of the interview which Mr. Maret had with the Miniſter. I am very much diſpleaſed that Mr. ***** has led you into an error which may have very unpleaſant conſequences, and I beg of you to reflect upon the requeſt I have made you, not to loſe a moment of time to repair the miſchief that this miſtake may have occaſioned. Mr. Maret will give you all thoſe explanations, which you can only know by him; he will not conceal from you the attachment of the people to the conſtitution, their loyalty to the King and his government; he will tell you, that far from adopting the wild reveries which are

in faſhion in France, they are determined at all events, to remain as they are, and not to ſuffer the leaſt attack againſt the conſtitution, under any pretence whatever. From hence you will perceive how very cruelly you have been deceived, on being aſſured, "*that the Engliſh people, diſſatisfied and "oppreſſed, only attended the ſignal for a general revolt;*"* ſo far from it, they are contented, they are happy, attached to the King, to their country, to its laws, and ready to defend them to the laſt moment of their lives. Such, Sir, is the true ſtate of things, and I will leave you to judge how far it is prudent to declare war againſt a nation ſo unanimous and powerful. I wait your anſwer with impatience.

W. MILES."

To M. LE BRUN,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, at Paris.

* Diſcourſe of Le Brun to the Convention.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. IV.

Paris, 11 Janvier, 1793.

Extract of a Letter from M. MARET *to* Mr. MILES.

" JE conviens avec vous que ſon annonciation ſur les conferences de nos agens ſecrets n'eſt pas exacte; je n'etais point agent ſecret. Je n'avais ni autoriſation, ni miſſion, et jai dit la verité, en le declaratant à vous et à Monſieur Pitt."

TRANSLATION.

" I Agree with you that his * report of the conferences with our ſecret agents † is not conformable to truth. I was not a ſecret agent, I had no authority to treat, I had no miſſion, and when I declared this to Mr. Pitt and to yourſelf, I declared the truth."

* Monſieur Le Brun, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

† Conferences ſaid to have been had with Mr. Pitt, but falſely ſaid.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. V.

Londres, No. 7, Cleveland Row, St. James's, le 18 Decembre, 1792.

" JE ſuis au deſeſpoir, Monſieur, de voir tous mes efforts pour conſerver la paix et rapprocher les deux nations prêts à s'échouer par des préventions mal-fondées, des mal-entendus et des intrigues ſourdes et dangereuſes autant, qu'elles ſont contraires aux véritables interêts des deux pays.

" Si M. *** vous a rendu un compte fidele et détaillé de tout ce qui s'eſt paſſé entre lui et moi, relativement aux grands objets qui intereſſent non ſeulement la France et l'Angleterre, mais l'univers entier, vous ne pouvez ignorer la loyauté et la franchiſe de mes procédés. Il ne s'agit cependant ni de ma franchiſe ni de ma loyauté; mes principes politiques (dont je ne m'écarterai jamais) vous ſont bien connus, ainſi que l'eſtime perſonèlle que vos talens et vos malheurs me firent concevoir pour vous. Je vous dirai ſeulement, que, n'ayant d'autre but que le bonheur du genre humain, ni d'autres guides que le ſens commun et la probité, je ne crains nullement d'expoſer mes principes et ma conduite au plus grand jour. Permettez donc que je me faſſe un devoir de vous éclairer ſur quelques objects

très

très importants, et ſur leſquels il me ſemble que vous avez des idées peu juſtes.

" J'entreprens cette tâche d'autant plus volontiers, vous connoiſſant pour un homme trop juſte pour ne pas écouter la raiſon et la verité. Pendant mon séjour à Paris en 1790 et en 1791, j'ai obſervé avec beaucoup de regret et même d'inquietude des ſoupçons très mal fondés à l'egard des intentions de la Cour Britannique envers la France. Ces ſoupçons furent trés fortement appuyés *par les menées des ariſtocrates qui crurent au ſalut, c'eſt à dire, au rétabliſſement de l'ancien gouvernement par un guerre, contre l'Angleterre. Animés d'un eſpoir plus que criminel, ils ont travaillé avec une lachèté digne de leur conduite toujours infame, à faire accroire au peuple toujours facile à tromper par ſa bonté, que nos armemens pour faire entendre raiſon aux Eſpagnols étoient deſtinés à enlever à la France les Iſles du Vents, et opérer une contre revolution.* * Il n'eſt point ſurprenant, Monſieur, qu'un

* I was at Paris at this time, but an accommodation taking place with Spain, the counter-revolution was neceſſarily ſuſpended until Mr. Burke publiſhed his Reflections on the French Revolution. It was expected that this celebrated work would effectually prove that gabelles, corvées, lettres de cachet, baſtiles, ſlavery, and prieſtcraft, were not ſuch bad things as the people had, from their incompetency to judge, and little capacity to feel, been taught to believe; if obſtinacy is a proof of ignorance, the French are very much impregnated with the latter

qu'un peuple échappé des fers, et toujours entouré de ces anciens tyrans la nobleſſe et le clergé, qui travaillent ſans relâche à le replonger ſous

latter commodity; for all the fine writings, nor all the fine ſpeeches of Mr. Burke made no more impreſſion on them than if he had whiſtled Lillibulero. "Nil deſperandum" will ever be the motto of a people whoſe gaiety is never at the higheſt, until their fortunes are at the loweſt. What the *Reflections on the French Revolution* could not effect, the *Regicide Peace*, (which I hear is in the preſs) it is ſaid, will infallibly accompliſh. This is the great and comprehenſive miracle which is to work the complete reſtoration of abſolute monarchy and ſuperſtition. The Regicide Peace is the vaſt miracle that is to operate all that is neceſſary to enſure the immediate return of beads, relics, croſſes, and friars, together with an ocean of holy water, from their diſgraceful pilgrimage! Such are the expectations formed from the wonder-working pen of Mr. Burke; and as all theſe are matters in which we have no right to meddle, for they relate entirely to the internal management of an eſtate that does not belong to us, the proprietors of which being of age and in poſſeſſion, are ſurely at liberty to act as they pleaſe; but if the wonder-working pen of this gentleman has other objects in view, and if one of its objects is to give the lie to the divine precepts of Chriſtianity, by preaching war and deſolation; if its principal deſign is to ſtimulate the Britiſh nation to become an unworthy auxiliary to ſlaves and fanatics in their impious attempt to reſtore deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, I will recommend it to my country and to its miniſters to follow the wiſer policy of Spain and France, that acknowledged the Protector Cromwell, rather than war with a people reſolved to be free. The Court of Madrid was the firſt to acknowledge the Engliſh Republic in the laſt century, and Cardinal Mazarine, (who was at leaſt as good a ſtateſman as Mr. Burke,) made no objection to treat with regicides. Even Mr. Burke himſelf, at one period of his life, correſponded with regicides, and in the very height of the fierce conflict between

 this

ſous le deſpotiſme, ajoute foi à des menſonges inventés par des mal intentionés, et ſoutenus pour ainſi dire par la crainte; mais que des gens inſtruits,

this country and her colonies, recommended a peace with regicides; for what elſe was the recommending the Sovereign to acknowledge the independence of America, than a ſtab to royalty which America had ſpurned as a thing unfit to be retained, and unworthy of its acceptance? I ſaw Mr. Burke go up in proud proceſſion, and proud of the embaſſy, to the Britiſh throne, with an addreſs to the King, beſeeching his Majeſty to inflict with his own hand, the very wound of death to regal authority; to give, as it were, the *coup-de-grace* to expiring royalty, proſtrate and bleeding on the diſtant ſhores of the Atlantic, nor can it be denied that the monarch would have ſhared the fate of the monarchy, at almoſt any period of the unnatural conteſt, if his perſon had unhappily fallen into the hands of his revolted ſubjects. Mr. Burke knows this fact at leaſt *as well*, if not *better* than any man in England, and with this knowledge of himſelf, and of paſt events, what muſt his effrontery be, to come forward and declaim againſt rebels—himſelf a rebel, of the very worſt deſcription! For it is rebellion againſt humanity! It is worſe, it is rebellion againſt heaven and earth! It is rebellion againſt God and man! for Mr. Burke to council miniſters not to make peace with regicides—himſelf a regicide! All-gracious Heaven, when will men learn to be conſiſtent! Or rather, when will they ceaſe to be unjuſt! Whether it is the delirium of madneſs, or the delirium of vanity, that ſtimulates this indiſcreet champion of an infatuated prieſthood and nobility, to hatch, in his foul den, evils of the foulcſt nature; whether it is charity or folly to leave him at liberty to throw forth at random his wild and malignant foam, is for thoſe to decide who have bloated him into a conſequence that he never deſerved; all that I contend for, is, that if his opinions are likely to influence our public councils in favour of war at this eventful moment, at a moment when

our

inſtruits, en ſoient les dupes, et que le gens eclairés ſoient aſſez credules pour croire les mille et un contes répandus contre le gouvernement Anglais, c'eſt un de ces évenemens qui m'étonnent et m'affligent.

" Le rapport également denué de tout fondement que M. Pitt était l'ennemi juré de la revolution, fut reçu avec cette facilité aveugle, qui donne toujours aux menſonges, la victoire ſur la verité. J'oſe vous renvoyer à toutes les declarations publiques et reconnues du miniſtre Anglais, depuis le commencement de la révolution pour vous convaincre qu'il s'eſt fait un devoir de ne point ſe mêler des affaires interieures de votre gouvernement. Je crois qu'il a toujours rejetté avec fermeté toutes les propoſitions d'attaques qui lui ont

our deareſt intereſts are at ſtake, there will be œconomy in purchaſing his ſilence at even quadruple the price at which the country has rewarded his labours and his apoſtacy.

It is not my wiſh to uſe an aſperity of language unworthy of myſelf, or of the cauſe I have eſpouſed, but conſidering Mr. Burke to have provoked, by his injudicious reflections on the French revolution, the execrable libels which have diſgraced the preſs, and unhinged the public mind in this country; beholding him as the man who gave at once exiſtence and celebrity to the worſt of incendiaries; and that if it had not been for Mr. Burke, we ſhould never have heard of Mr. Paine, I throw myſelf upon the candour of thoſe who feel as warm an intereſt in the preſervation of the conſtitution as myſelf, to pardon whatever may appear to them to be raſh or intemperate.

été faites contre les Français, et qu'il n'a jamais voulu s'engager en aucun projet de contre révolution; s'il s'eſt fait un devoir de ne jamais ſe mêler de vos affaires, il ſe fait auſſi une gloire d'être reſté attaché à ſes principes ſages et equitables.

" Non content de lui reprocher de vouloir vous faire la guerre—non content de l'avoir accuſé d'être l'ennemi juré de la France, on a pouſſé la calomnie au point de dire qu'il y a envoyé de l'argent pour exciter et fomenter les troubles. L'impoſſibilité de la choſe, ſuffit pour toute réponſe à une accuſation auſſi ridicule qu'atroce. Aucun miniſtre Anglais ne peut diſſiper, de cette maniére, le treſor publique, il eſt obligé de rendre compte de tout ce qu'il dépenſe. Rappellez vous auſſi le ſyſtême d'œconomie que M. Pitt a adopté, et les épargnes qu'il a faites, et vous conviendrez avec moi, qu'il ne peut avoir prodigué de l'argent de la maniére qu'on le dit. Au reſte je vous prie de bien examiner l'état de votre pays et du notre, ſans conſulter ni la juſtice ni la politique. Croyez vous qu'il y auroit de la prudence à ajouter l'Angleterre au nombre de vos ennemis? La premiere fois que je vis M. Noël, et qu'il m'eut appris l'objet de ſon voyage, je lui promis de lui procurer le moyen d'obtenir une entrevue avec M. Pitt, dès qu'il eut l'autoriſation du counſeil executif, la conduite qu'il s'eſt preſcrite a été très prudente, très ſage, et s'il

eut

eut été ici il y a quinze jours, il auroit probablement eu la conference que j'ai obtenue pour Maret.

" J'ai à me louer de leur conduite honette à mon égard, et loyale envers leur patrie, et ſi vous euſſiez permis au dernier d'achever ce qu'il a ſi bien commencé, je crois que vous auriez eu lieu d'en être très ſatisfait. Après vous avoir aſſuré que je n'ai aucun interêt perſonnel dans la négotiation que j'avois preſqu'entamé, j'eſpere que vous vous preterez à des conſeils ſages et prudents, et que vous ne perdrez pas l'occaſion qui ſe preſente d'aſſurer le bonheur de votre pays, et la tranquillité de l'Europe. N'imaginez point que le peuple Anglais ſoit diſpoſé à ſe revolter contre le gouvernement—n'imaginez pas qu'on deſire la guerre ici—point du tout—nous deſirons de vivre en bonne intelligence avec la France.

" Après les demarches que j'ai faits pour obtenir pour Maret une conference avec M. Pitt, je fus très etonné que vous euſſiez renvoyé M. Pitt à M. Chauvelin pour des explications. Monſ. Maret vous expliquera bien des choſes qui ne peuvent s'ecrire.

" Je vous prie de vous perſuader, que je ne perdrai pas de vue pendant ſon abſence du grand objet

objet qui m'intéreſſe.——Salut et Amitié.——Bon ſoir.

" W. MILES."

A Monſieur LE BRUN,
Miniſtre pour les Affaires Eſtrangéres,
à Paris.

TRANSLATION.

London, No. 7, Cleveland Row, St. James's
18th December, 1792.

" I AM ſincerely grieved to ſee all my efforts for preſerving peace, and uniting the two nations, likely to fail through ill-founded prepoſſeſſions, miſconceptions, and under-hand manœuvres, as dangerous as they are contrary to the real intereſt of both countries.

" If * * * has given you a faithful and particular account of all that paſſed between him and me concerning the great objects which intereſt, not only France and England, but the whole world, you cannot deny the candor and loyalty of my conduct. My candor and loyalty are, however, out of the queſtion. My political principles, from which I never will depart, are well known to you, as well as that perſonal eſteem with which your abilities and misfortunes long ſince inſpired me. I ſhall only tell you, that, having no other object but the happineſs of mankind, and no other guides but common ſenſe

and

and common honeſty, I am not afraid of having my principles and conduct expoſed to the whole world; permit me therefore to conſider it as my duty to undeceive you concerning ſome very important objects, your ideas of which do not appear to me to be very juſt. I undertake this taſk the more willingly, as I hope you are too juſt a man not to liſten to reaſon and truth.

"During my ſtay in Paris, in the years 1790 and 1791, I ſaw, with great concern and uneaſineſs, the ill-grounded ſuſpicions entertained of the intentions of the Britiſh Court towards France. Theſe ſuſpicions were ſtrongly ſupported by the intrigues of the ariſtocrats, who thought they ſaw their ſalvation, that is to ſay, the re-eſtabliſhment of the antient government, in a war with England. Animated by hopes more than criminal, they ſtrove with a perfidy worthy of their conduct, always infamous, to perſuade the people, who are always eaſily deceived through their credulity, that our armaments againſt Spain, were really deſtined to wreſt from France the Leward Iſlands, and to bring about a counter-revolution. It was not ſurpriſing, Sir, that a people, juſt freed from their chains, and ſtill ſurrounded by their late tyrants, (the nobility and clergy, who ſtrive inceſſantly to replunge them into ſlavery) ſhould give credit to lies invented by ill-deſigning perſons, and ſupported as it

were by fear; but that well-informed men ſhould be their dupes; that enlightened minds ſhould be ſo credulous as to adopt the endleſs tales propagated againſt the Engliſh government, is one of thoſe events which aſtoniſh and grieve me.

" The report, equally groundleſs, that Mr. Pitt was the ſworn enemy of the revolution, was received with that blind confidence which too often gives falſehood a ſuperiority over truth. I dare refer you to all the public and avowed declarations of the Engliſh miniſter, to convince you, that from the beginning of the revolution he has made it a point not to meddle with the internal affairs of your government; that he has always rejected with firmneſs, every propoſal made to him for attacking the French, and always refuſed to be concerned in any project for a counter-revolution; as he has made it his duty not to meddle with your affairs, ſo he has made it his glory to remain attached to his own wiſe and equitable principles.

" Not ſatisfied with having imputed to him a deſign of making war againſt you; not content with having accuſed him of being the enemy of France, they have carried their calumnies to ſuch a degree as to ſay that he ſent money to France in order to excite and foment diſturbances there. The impoſſibility of the thing is a ſufficient

ſufficient anſwer to an imputation, as ridiculous as it is atrocious. No Engliſh miniſter can ſquander the public money in that manner; he is obliged to give an account of what he ſpends. Remember, beſides, the ſyſtem of œconomy which Mr. Pitt has adopted, the ſavings he has made, and you will agree with me, that he cannot have laviſhed money as it has been ſaid. Moreover I beg you will conſider attentively the ſtate of your country and of our's, independent of either juſtice or policy, and ſay, do you think it would be prudent to add England to the number of your enemies?—The firſt time that I ſaw M. Noel, * and when he informed me of the object of his journey, I promiſed to find means of obtaining for him an interview with Mr. Pitt, as ſoon as he ſhould be authoriſed by the executive council. His behaviour has been very wiſe and very prudent, and if he had been here a fortnight ago he probably would have had the conference which I obtained for Maret.

"I cannot but approve of their civility towards me, and their loyalty towards their country; and if you had permitted the latter to complete what he had ſo well began, I believe you

* Mr. Noel, I believe, had been at the ſame college with M. Le Brun, and there was a friendſhip between them. It is a juſtice due to this able and intelligent envoy, to declare that he was extremely anxious to preſerve peace.

would have had reaſon to be ſatisfied with his conduct. After having aſſured you that I have no perſonal intereſt in the negotiation for which I had nearly paved the way, I hope you will yield to wiſe and prudent counſels, and that you will not miſs the opportunity which offers of ſecuring happineſs to your country and tranquillity to Europe. Do not imagine that the people of England are diſpoſed to revolt againſt the government—do not imagine that war is wiſhed for in this country—on the contrary, we wiſh to live on good terms with France.*

"After the meaſures I had taken to obtain of Mr. Pitt a conference with M. Maret, I was much ſurpriſed that you ſhould peremptorily refer Mr. Pitt to M. Chauvelin for explanations. M. Maret will explain to you many things which I cannot commit to paper.

"I hope you will be perſuaded, that during his abſence I will not loſe ſight of the great object which intereſts me.——Health and Friendſhip.——Good night.

"W. MILES."

To M. LE BRUN,
Miniſter for Foreign Affairs,
Paris.

* I ſpeak generally of the whole country.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. VI.

To Mr. MILES.

"*Paris, Dec.* 17, 1792.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"IT is through the intrigues of Edward Walckiers, the Bruſſells banker, that our executive power will require, *as a preliminary ſtep to any explanation whatever, that the Republic ſhall be acknowledged in the perſon of Monſ. Chauvelin.*

"This gentleman was abſolutely recalled on the return of Lord Gower. Mr. Noel was charged with the official letter to that purpoſe, and Mr. Renard* was to have remained Chargé des Affaires.

"Mr. Chauvelin, alarmed, entreated Noel not to deliver him the letter of recall, and entreated Le Brun to conſider the conſequences that might attend his abrupt departure—*That the Court of London, in that caſe, would certainly demand an explanation, and a rupture between the two nations would enſue; that though he was not well with the Engliſh miniſter, yet he was perfectly ſo with Mr. Fox, and ſome other members of oppoſition; and would it be prudent in France to loſe the fruit of*

* The ſecretary of M. Chauvelin, M. Renard, is now at Hamburgh, as envoy, I believe, from the French Republic, and was very anxious that peace ſhould be preſerved.

all his labours with theſe gentlemen, and their ſubſequent ſervices, for a vain form of diplomatic etiquette? —Theſe, and ſome other reaſons alledged at the time, induced Mr. Noel to enter into the views of Chauvelin, and even to enforce his arguments, and to recommend his remaining in England. In return for this frankneſs, Chauvelin endeavoured to fortify himſelf by his intrigues among us. Walckiers is his relation by marriage, and as this latter has the ear of Le Brun, and has been all the time at Paris, he has employed his credit with the miniſter for foreign affairs, and every engine he could put in motion, to have Chauvelin continued in his public character.

" Among other things it was repreſented to Le Brun, by this party, that *it was incompatible with the dignity of the Republic to treat with the Britiſh miniſter in private, or by a ſecret agent; that nothing leſs than a public acknowledgment of the Republic ſhould induce the French executive council to enter into any explanation with the Britiſh Court, and that it ſhould be inſiſted upon, that as M. Chauvelin was on the ſpot, and had credentials, he ſhould be formally invited by your Miniſter to appear at St. James's in his public character.* While this language was inſiſted upon by the friends of Chauvelin here, ſimilar advice, I am told, was tranſmitted from your country, and hence the reaſon that Maret is prevented from acting, and that Le

Brun forbid him to enter into any detail with your miniſter.

Noel, I am afraid, will have cauſe to repent of his candor to Chauvelin. There is a combuſtion in the hive; and Noel, who, I aſſure you, is a perfect honeſt man, very different to diplomatic men in general, and very anxious to prevent the war, has incurred much diſgrace for endeavouring to undeceive Le Brun, with reſpect to the ſtrength of oppoſition, and the internal ſtate of your country; (which latter was believed to be in a ſtate of inſurrection), until he wrote to the contrary, and on that account it is that the executive council has gone ſuch lengths, and may ſtill go greater.

It is propoſed to ſend Noel * to the Hague as Miniſter, and if this ſhould take place, it is probable the ſtorm raiſed againſt him, may blow over. You may be aſſured that Noel is very anxious for peace, ſo is Maret and Young Mourgue; rely upon it, they will exert all their influence and credit to preſerve it; as far as they can conſiſtent with what they owe to their own country.---Do not deſpair---and yet I muſt not bid you hope. Adieu, adieu,

" Your Friend."

* * * *

* This gentleman is at the Hague, and I avail myſelf of this opportunity to do juſtice to the rectitude of his conduct in this country, as well as to his talents, and the philanthropy of his diſpoſition.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. VII.

From Monſ. MARET *to Mr.* MILES.

" *Paris, 5 Janvier l'an 2d de la Republique.*

" VOUS avez écrit, mon cher Miles, à *** avec une ſenſibilité un peu trop vive ſur le premier rapport de le Brun. Je crois bien que ſi j'étais arrivé avant qu'il fut fait, le Miniſtre aurait conſenti à quelques changemens aſſez eſſentiels--- Mais que voulez vous? J'étais en route et l'opinion était abuſé ſous beaucoup de rapports. Depuis mon retour j'ai parlé hautement et franchement, mais j'ai trouvé des grands obſtacles.——

Les inſultes du Parlement Britannique; l'orgueil national des Français; leur courage; leur moyens; l'immenſités des leurs reſources; voila des faits, voila des raiſons, auxquels, l'enthouſiaſme de la liberté et de la victoire donnent une energie qu'on ne peut ni modifier, ni reſtreindre. Si par impoſſible, nos nations parvenaient à ſe rapprocher et à s'entendre, le Brun verrait avec une grande joie l'occaſion de communiquer et de travailler avec vous à cet ouvre ſalutaire et pacifique. Aſſuré-

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ment votre gouvernement ne pourrait choiſir perſonne dans aucun circonſtance, avec qui Le Brun eut plus de plaiſir à parler d'affaires.

" Adieu, adieu."

TRANSLATION.

" *Paris, Jan.* 5, *2d Year of the Republic.*

" YOU have written, my dear Miles, to * * * with rather too much warmth on the ſubject of the firſt report of Le Brun. * I have no doubt but many eſſential alterations would have been made in it, if I had happily arrived in time. But what would you have me do? I was on the road, and the public opinion had been impoſed upon in many inſtances. I have ſpoken with great frankneſs and boldneſs ſince my return, but I have found immenſe obſtacles.—The inſults of the Britiſh Parliament. †

" The

* To the Convention.

† Strong remonſtrances were tranſmitted to me againſt the wild and flippant ſcurrilities of Mr. Burke and of Mr. Windham, the latter of whom gave extreme offence, by aſſerting, *that a Frenchman muſt change his nature, before he could ſpeak truth.** A variety of letters that I received at that period reſented this indecent outrage offered to an entire nation, nor was it conſidered as an extenuation of the offence, when I aſſerted that the government of the country, not the country itſelf, ought to be reſponſi-

* In debate in the Houſe of Commons, 1792.

ſible

"The pride of the French nation, its courage, means, and immenſe reſources! Behold theſe facts! Behold theſe reaſons, to which the enthuſiaſm of liberty and of victory give an energy which cannot be modified nor reſtrained. If by great efforts the two nations could be made to underſtand each other, Le Brun will behold with great joy the opportunity it may give him to communicate and act with you in this ſalutary and pacific undertaking.

"Your government certainly could not ſelect a perſon at any time with whom Le Brun would have more pleaſure to converſe on public affairs.

"Adieu, adieu."

ble for the indiſcretions of individuals; nor did I fail to remind them that privilege of ſpeech belonged to Parliament as a right, and that the Convention itſelf had not been deficient in exerciſing this right, in its turn, reſpecting this country, with an illiberality ſtill more indecent, if poſſible, than that of the gentlemen above-mentioned.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. VIII.

Mr. MILES *to M.* MARET.

Ce 4 Janvier 1783.

" JE n'ai qu'un moment pour accuſer la reception de votre lettre. Il faut que vous me diſpenſiez d'y répondre, juſqu'à ce que j'aie plus de tems. Quant au bill de Milord Grenville, les menées de vos compatriotes ici et en Irelande, & ces menées appuyées, pour ne pas dire autoriſées par les decrets de la Convention, ſemblent avoir provoquée une méſure ſi dure, mais néceſſaire. Si vous faites attention au bill, vous verrez que les negocians & les commerçans y ſont exceptés.

" J'ai le cœur navré de voir que tous mes efforts pour écarter la guerre, n'aboutiſſent à rien & ça à cauſe de l'opiniatreté de Le Brun qui eſt aſſurement très mal inſtruit de la ſituation interieure de ce pays. Dites à Monſ. ——— qu'en conſéquence de ſa conduite à mon egard, relativement aux affaires publiques, toute liaiſon entre lui & moi doit ſe rompre. Vraiment je ne vois d'autres moyens d'éviter la guerre que par des declarations très preciſe de la France ſur ces conquettes, ſur l'Eſcaut, et ſur la paix générale. Soyez Francs; La France ne s'expliqueroit elle pas, ſi elle deſiroit

de bonne foi conſerver la paix ? Toute tracaſſerie m'afflige, tout va de travers, j'en ſuis déſolé, et penſe à renoncer à tout et à m'enſévelir à la campagne.

" Ecrivez moi je vous prie un mot de réponſe à cette lettre, et mandez moi, ſi vous voulez vous prêter à un accommodement.

" Je vous ſouhaite le bon ſoir.

" WM. MILES."

à Monſ. Maret.

TRANSLATION.

Jan. 4, 1793.

" I HAVE but one moment to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. You muſt excuſe my not anſwering it, until I have more time. As to Lord Grenville's Bill, the manœuvres of your countrymen here, and in Ireland, and theſe manœuvres ſupported, if not authoriſed by the decrees of the Convention, ſeem to have provoked a meaſure ſo harſh, but neceſſary. If you pay attention to the bill, you will ſee that merchants and people in trade are excepted.

" My heart is torn to ſee all my endeavours to avoid war, come to nothing, and that through

through the obſtinacy of Le Brun who is certainly very ill informed of the ſituation of this country. Tell Mr. * * * that on account of his behaviour to me relative to public affairs, all communication between him and me muſt ceaſe. In truth I ſee no other means of avoiding war but by explicit declarations on the part of France concerning her conqueſts, the Scheldt, and a general peace. Be ſincere. Would not France declare her intentions openly, if ſhe ſincerely wiſhed to preſerve peace? Squabbles always afflict me. Every thing goes wrong. I am grieved and giving up all hopes of peace, mean to bury myſelf in the country.

"Write to me, I pray you, a few words in anſwer to this letter, and tell me if you will liſten to terms of accommodation?

"I wiſh you a good night,

"W. MILES."

M. Maret.

APPENDIX, No. IX.

Cleveland-row, Londres,
le 2 Janvier, 1793.

" VOUS exprimez toujours, Monſieur, dans vos differens rapports à la Convention, et dans les depêches qui me ſont tombées ſous les yeux le deſir de conſerver la paix entre l'Angleterre et la France. Mais comment ſe fier à des proteſtations d'amitié dementies par les faits ? Comment croire vos intentions pacifiques tandis que votre conduite eſt hoſtile ? Vivons nous dans un ſiécle où les enigmes ſont en uſage, on faut-il pour vous comprendre lire à rebours ce que vous dites ?

" Pendant quatre mois conſecutifs vos emiſſaires ſecrets ont fait mille tentatives pour obtenir une entrevue avec M. Pitt, et dès qu'il s'y eſt prêté ſa condeſcendance a été attribué non à la Franchiſe ; non à l'interêt qu'il eſt cenſé prendre à la proſperité de ſa patrie ; non pas à une principe de bonne politique, fondé ſur les baſes de la probité et de l'humanité, mais à la foibleſſe, ou à un motif encore moins excuſable, qui ne lui ſeroit

jamais attribué que par des hommes ſans vertu et qui etant depourvus de tout ſentiment d'honneur, ne croyent pas que des tels ſentimens puiſſent exiſter chez les autres.

" Selon-eux; c'étoit à la crainte ou à la perfidie que Monſ. Maret devoit ſon entrevue avec Mr. Pitt. Grand Dieu! quelle crainte auroit-il pu avoir? Une ſeule peut-être! Le poignard d'un aſſaſſin! Et qu'avoit-il à gagner par la perfidie envers une nation qui eſt dans ce moment non ſeulement ſans pouvoir, ſans credit, et ſans une force ſuffiſante pour attenter aucune enterpriſe étrangère, mais, ſelon toutes les apparences, ſans les reſſources militaires indiſpenſables pour ſoutenir une guerre générale. Enfin, une nation que ſes follies et ſes crimes precipiteront tôt ou tard dans une abime dont elle ne ſortera que par des moyens qui doivent vous faire trembler! Le peu de credit que la Convention Nationale ſemblait conſerver après la triſte journée du dix d'Aout (1792) auroit rendu toute explication ſur les grands objets qui interreſſoient les deux nations, très imprudentes, très unutiles, et peut-être très dangereuſes pour l'Angleterre. Menacé d'une armée qui étoit deja ſur vos frontières et toute la machine du gouvernement ainſi que tous les eſprits deſorganiſés par les convulſions interieures, la crainte vous a fait tenir un langage peu veridique, et qui fut bientôt changé en un ton très deplacé,

en

en des termes que vous n'auriez pas du vous permettre, et que nous devions encore moins entendre.

C'eſt une triſte verité, Monſieur, que la proſperité éblouit et les nations et les hommes, et qu'il faut des malheurs très conſiderables quelquefois pour apprendre aux uns et aux autres la juſtice et la moderation ! la rapidité de vos conquêtes dans les Pays Bas Autrichiens, en Allemagne, et dans la Savoie, vous a fait perdre de vue ce que vous vous devez à vous mêmes et aux autres, et parceque vous réuſſites par l'audace de vos armes ſur quelques gouvernemens naturellement foibles, et deja infectés des vices contagieux du temps, vous croyez pouvoir dicter la loi à toute l'Europe, et la forcer d'adopter les mêmes principes d'anarchie dont vous avez été les victimes depuis le 14 Juillet 1789. Vraiment, Monſieur, je ſuis au deſeſpoir de trouver un rapprochement ſi parfait entre la conduite de la France *libre*, et celle de la France *eſclave*, comme ſi c'était ſa triſte deſtiné de gemir toujours ſous un deſpotiſme plus ou moins affreux. Mais pour revenir à notre ſujet. Je vous ai tracé la route que vous avez à ſuivre, et ſi vous ſuivez mes conſeils, le Cabinet Anglais ne s'aviſera pas de vous declarer la guerre—mais ſoyez de bonne foi ; ne me trompez pas ; n'ecoutez pas ces petits meſſieurs qui vous entourrent, et

et vous flattent, et qui aimeraient mieux jouer au plus fin, que de marcher droit ; rappellez vous toujours, que vous tenez entre vos mains par le hazard le plus extraordinaire et le plus bizarre la deſtinée pour ainſi dire de l'Europe entiére, et qu'en vous écartant des principes que je vous ai tracé dans une lettre précédente, et que Maret vous a certainement repetés ſelon les inſtructions que je lui ai données, vous prononcerez un arrêt de mort contre des millions peut-être de vos ſemblables ! pouvez vous—oſez vous y penſer ſans fremir ? La paix, je vous le repete, eſt facile à conſerver, et la paix une fois aſſurée, voilà la pierre fondamentale poſée de cette alliance entre nos deux pays ; alliance que j'ai tant deſirée, et que pour l'obtenir je ſuis prêt de ſacrifier ma vie. La Nation Anglaiſe eſt bien diſpoſée vers la France, et comme la nation compte pour beaucoup dans ce pays-ci ; le gouvernement n'oſera jamais marcher en ſens contraire ; mais de votre côté il ne faut pas éffaroucher ni fatiguer le peuple en decriant une Conſtitution à laquelle elle eſt attachée d'une maniére que rien ne peut ébranler. Voilà cependant l'ecueil ſur lequel je crains que vous n'alliez échour, et ſans parler de l'indecence qu'il y auroit à vouloir s'immiſcer dans les affaires interieures d'une autre nation, il faut convenir qu'une démarche ſi peu meſurée ſeroit auſſi indécente, qu'injuſte et dangereuſe—le malheur eſt que vous ſemblez avoir

la

la manie de vous mêler de tout, et ſouvenez vous, mon ami, qu'en ſe mêlant de tout, on gâte tout.

Rappellez donc tous vos emiſſaires;—que la propagande finiſſe! et ne cherchez plus à troubler la tranquillité publique dans ce pays.—Vos decrêts du 19 Novembre et du 15 Decembre ſont des ménaces qu'aucun gouvernement ne peut entendre, ſans prendre des précautious ſur le champ pour ſa propre ſureté, et vous devez ſentir que tandis que des pareils décrets exiſteront, nous ne pouvons nous fier à vos aſſurances pacifiques, d'ailleurs quand vous parlez dans un ſens contraire aux déclarations explicites de la Convention, vous ne pouvez être conſideré que comme un particulier.—Au nom de Dieu, ſi vous voulez éviter un embraſement univerſel, ne vous mêlez pas de notre gouvernement; ſi nous ſommes moins libres que vous, même ſi nous étions dans l'eſclavage le plus affreux, laiſſez nous nos fers, et puis qu'ils ne nous gênent pas, pourquoi vous inquietent-ils?—Je m'etens d'autant plus ſur cet article que je n'ignore pas les eſpérances mal-fondés que vous avez conçues d'une revolte générale, et pendant que vous encouragez de tels projets, il me ſera impoſſible devous aider, et même d'entretenir aucune correſpondence ni avec vous, ni avec le conſeil executif.—Vous me demandez ſi mi Lord Hawkeſbury et Mr. Dundas ne ſont pas pour la guerre.—Je ne les connois pas du tout, et j'ignore

nore abſolument même leurs perſonnes et leurs ſentimens.—Il ne m'eſt jamais arrivé d'avoir aucune relation avec ces deux meſſieurs, et je vous avoue franchement que leurs conſeils auſſi imprudent que ruineux dans la malheureuſe guerre de l'Amerique, m'otent toute confiance et dans leur ſageſſe, et dans leurs principes.—Ecoutez moi encore une fois, et une fois pour tout, *ne rendez pas la guerre neceſſaire, ni comme méſure de precaution, ni par neceſſité, pour repouſſer une* aggreſſion de votre part, et vous ne l'aurez pas; comptez la deſſus, et je repondrai du reſte. J'entrevois même des diſpoſitions très favorables en faveur de la paix. Ne le forcez donc pas Mr. Pitt par votre imprudence à ſe declarer contre vous; ſoyez ſages, et vous rendrez la liberté aux Belges et aux Liegeois.—L'Empire et l'Empereur n'auront plus rien à dire, et un peuple loyal et brave ſera affranchi d'un joug qui l'a trop long tems opprimé.

" On n'eſt pas du tout eloigné d'un arrangement, que les circonſtances imperieuſes ont peut-être dicté beaucoup plus que la juſtice.—J'ai propoſé cette arrangement, comme la ſeule condition ſur laquelle vous conſentirez à revenir ſur l'affaire de l'Eſcaut, d'abandonner vos conquêtes, et d'accorder la paix à la Pruſſe et à l'Autriche.—C'eſt au pouvoir executif à decider.—Mais ſongez je vous en prie, que ſi on refuſe à Paris de ſe preter à

un arrangement ſi raiſonable, une guerre affreuſe s'enſuivra ; vous aurez à combattre toute l'Europe, et les deux nations pour leſquelles j'ai tant travaillé retomberont dans l'eſclavage.—Vous êtes maitre de leur deſtin.

" W. MILES."

A Monſieur LE BRUN,
Miniſtre pour les Affaires
Etrangéres à Paris.

TRANSLATION.

London, January 2, 1793.

To Mr. LE BRUN, *Miniſter for Foreign Affairs at Paris.*

" YOU always expreſs, Sir, in your different reports to the Convention and in the diſpatches which I have ſeen, the deſire of preſerving peace between England and France ; but what reliance can be had on proteſtations of friendſhip contradicted by facts ! How is it poſſible to believe your intentions pacific, while your conduct is hoſtile ? Do we live in age when *enigmas* are in vogue, or is it neceſſary in order to comprehend your meaning to read what you write backwards ?

Your

"Your ſecret emiſſaries have, during four ſucceſſive months, made a thouſand attempts to obtain an interview with Mr. Pitt, and he no ſooner granted it, than his condeſcenſion was attributed, not to candor, nor to the intereſt which he is known to take in the proſperity of his country; not to a principle of ſound policy founded on the baſis of honeſty and humanity; but to weakneſs, or a motive ſtill more unpardonable, which could have been imputed to him only by men without virtue, and who being deſtitute of every ſentiment of honor, cannot comprehend its exiſtence in others. According to them it was to fear or perfidy that M. Maret was indebted for his interview with Mr. Pitt. Good God! what had he to fear? perhaps the dagger of an aſſaſſin! What had he to gain by perfidy towards a nation, which is *at this moment* not only without power, without credit or a force ſufficient to form any foreign enterpriſe; but even, according to all appearances, without the military reſources indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſupport a general war; a nation, in a word, which its follies and crimes muſt ſooner or later plunge into an abyſs, from which it can only recover by means which ſhould make you tremble!

"The little credit which the National Convention ſeemed to poſſeſs after the melancholy 10th of Auguſt, 1792, would have rendered at that time

every explanation, concerning the great objects which intereſted both nations, very imprudent, very uſeleſs, and perhaps very dangerous to England.

" Threatened by an army already on your frontiers, the whole frame of your government as well as the minds of the people deranged by interior convulſions, fear made you uſe a language far from truth, which was ſoon changed into a very improper tone, and expreſſed in terms which you ſhould not have indulged, much leſs ſhould we have heard. It is a melancholy truth, Sir, that proſperity dazzles nations as well as individuals, and that great calamities are ſometimes neceſſary to teach them juſtice and moderation.

" The rapidity of your conqueſts in the Auſtrian Netherlands, in Germany and Savoy, made you loſe ſight of what you owed to yourſelves and to others, and becauſe you ſucceeded by the intrepidity of your arms againſt ſome governments naturally weak and already infected by the contagion of the times, you thought you could dictate laws to all Europe, and force it to adopt the ſame principles of anarchy, of which you have been the victims ſince the 14th of July, 1789.

" I am

"I am ſincerely grieved, Sir, to find ſo perfect a ſimilarity between the conduct of France become free, and that of France in ſlavery, as if its unhappy deſtiny was always to groan under a more or leſs horrible deſpotiſm!

"But to return to our ſubject, I have drawn the line which you are to follow; and if you take my advice the Britiſh Cabinet will not venture to declare war againſt you; but be ſincere, and do not deceive yourſelf or me; pay no attention to thoſe little gentlemen who ſurround and flatter you, and who prefer low cunning to an open and upright conduct.

"Conſider, that by a very ſingular and a very extraordinary chance, you hold in ſome meaſure, the deſtiny of Europe; that in departing from the principles which I laid down for you in a former letter, and which Maret undoubtedly repeated to you according to my requeſt, you will pronounce a ſentence of death, perhaps, againſt millions! Can you, Sir; nay, dare you, Sir, reflect on it without ſhuddering? Peace, I repeat it to you, is eaſily preſerved, and peace once ſecured, the foundation is laid for an alliance between our two countries—an alliance I ſo ardently wiſh for, that to obtain it I would readily ſacrifice my life. The Engliſh nation is well-diſpoſed in favor of the French, and as

in this country the will of the people is of great weight, government will never venture to ſteer in an oppoſite courſe; but on your part you muſt neither alarm nor inſult the people by crying down the conſtitution for which their attachment is inviolable. This, however, is the rock on which I fear you may ſplit; and not to mention the indecency of meddling in the interior concerns of another nation, you muſt acknowledge that ſuch an inconſiderate meaſure would be as unjuſt as dangerous. The misfortune is, that you ſeem to be poſſeſſed with the miſchievous madneſs of meddling with every thing. Remember, my friend, that by meddling with every thing you may ſpoil every thing.

" Recall all your emiſſaries, put an end to your *propaganda*, and no longer ſtrive to diſturb the public tranquillity in this country. Your decrees of the 19th of November * and 15th of December are menaces which no government can hear without taking meaſures of precaution immediately for its own ſafety; and you muſt feel that while ſuch decrees exiſt, we

* I had reaſon to believe that theſe decrees were levelled at this country, in conſequence of the deluſion which prevailed in France, that we were on the eve of an inſurrection in England, and that the promiſe of ſupport would inſtantly produce an exploſion.

cannot

cannot rely on your pacific aſſurances: beſides, when *you* expreſs ſentiments directly contrary to the explicit declarations of the *Convention*, you can only be conſidered as a private individual. In the name of God, if you wiſh to avoid an univerſal conflagration,—do not meddle with our government. If we are leſs free than you, if we were even in the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery, let us and our chains alone, and as you do not feel them, why trouble yourſelves about them? I dwell the more willingly on this article, as I am no ſtranger to the groundleſs hopes you have conceived of a general revolt, and while you encourage ſuch ſchemes, it will be impoſſible for me to aſſiſt you, nor even to hold any correſpondence with you or the Executive Council.

"You aſk me if Lord Hawkeſbury * and Mr. Dundas are not for war. I am totally unacquainted with both; I know neither their perſons nor their ſentiments. I never had the leaſt connexion with thoſe gentlemen, and I frankly acknowledge to you that their pernicious counſels, in the American war,

* I do not know from what ſource M. Le Brun derived his information; but it was the opinion of others, as well as his own, that both theſe gentlemen were eager for war; and whenever this language was held to me, my invariable anſwer was, "*If ſo, why give them, by your conduct, an advantage over you, and favour their views?*

inſpire

inſpire me with no ſort of confidence either in their wiſdom or their principles.

Hear me once more, and once for all, I conjure you! *Do not render the war neceſſary either as a meaſure of precaution, or as a meaſure of neceſſity, to repel an aggreſſion on your part, and you will avoid it.* Be aſſured of it—be prudent, and I will anſwer for the reſt. I even perceive a ſtrong diſpoſition to preſerve peace. Therefore do not force Mr. Pitt by your imprudence to declare againſt you. Be wiſe, and you will reſtore liberty to Liege and Brabant. The Empire and the Emperor will have nothing to ſay, and a brave and loyal people will be freed from a yoke which has too long oppreſſed them. This country would not be averſe to an arrangement dictated more by imperious circumſtances than by juſtice.

"I have propoſed this arrangement as the only condition on which you would agree to give up the Scheld, renounce your conqueſts, and grant peace to Pruſſia and Auſtria.

"It is for the executive power to decide; but reflect, I pray you, that if you decline an arrangement ſo reaſonable, a calamitous war will be the conſequence; you will have all Europe to combat

bat, and the two nations for whoſe freedom I have toiled ſo much will relapſe again into ſlavery. Their fate is in your hands.*

"Farewell,

"I have written to you by Noel.

"W. MILES."

* There are two or three letters in this publication, from which I have withheld the names of thoſe who writ them, for reaſons which cannot well be explained; and eſpecially as the writers of them are in exiſtence, and in their own country.

APPENDIX, No. X.

A Londres le 11 *Janvier*, 1793.

" La dépêche envoyée par Monſieur Chauvelin, Lundi, 31 Decembre, vous eſt certainement parvenue, cependant vous ne m'en accuſez pas la reception.

" Vous me parlez de l'ardeur du Peuple Françaiſe, & de ſes reſſources immenſes ; helas ! mon cher Maret, il n'eſt plus queſtion ni de l'une ni de l'autre.

" Après les griefs détaillés dans la réponſe de Milord Grenville à la note de M. Chauvelin, quel autre parti y a-t-il à prendre pour la France que de reculer ou de ſe battre. Je n'en connois aucun. Vous me direz, peut-être, que ce qu'on a exigé eſt trop humiliant ; mais non cher ami, il n'eſt pas queſtion d'orgueil, mais de juſtice. Je vous ai prié de faire ſentir à Le Brun combien il ſeroit plus glorieux à la France de conſentir à une paix générale, après avoir affranchi les Pays Bas & le pays de Liège, que de continuer une guerre, dont on ne peut entrevoir les ſuites, &

qui expoſera la liberté nouvellement acquiſe par les Liègeois & les Belges, ainſi que le nouvel ordre des choſes en France. Le pouvoir executif aura la gloire d'avoir affermi la Révolution Françaiſe & le loiſir de rétablir les finances délabrées, de remonter la machine du gouvernement & de faire renaitre un commerce preſqu'anéanti ; la tranquillité publique ſera aſſurée par la paix, ainſi que la fortune & la gloire de ceux qui tiennent actuellement le deſtin de la France en leurs mains, & pour prix de tout cela ? Rien qui ne ſoit dicté par la juſtice !

" Si l'Aſſemblée Nationale dans un moment d'ivreſſe fait des bévues ou des injuſtices, il convient qu'elle corrige les uns & répare les autres. Permittez que je vous répete ce que vous avez dèja lu dans la réponſe de Milord Grenville; que les ordres donnés à vos officiers généraux de pourſuivre l'ennemie ſur les terres neutres eſt une atteinte contre l'indépendence des puiſſances qui ne ſont point en guerre avec vous.

" L'arrêté du conſeil ſur l'ouverture de l'Eſcaut, eſt une infraction des traités.

" L'appropriation de la Savoie eſt contre vos propres principes, vous avez renoncé à toutes conquêtes, & vous en faites ! Comment ſe fier à une nation qui ne reſpecte ni ſes traité ni ſes

ſermens ? Le décret du 19 Novembre ainſi que celui du 15 Decembre étant conçus en termes généraux & invitant, pour ainſi dire, les peuples de tous les pays à ſe revolter contre leurs gouvernemens reſpectifs, en leur promettant du ſecours, ſont des griefs trop évidentes, & trop ſérieux pour ne pas indigner le gouvernement Britannique, & juſtifier ſes craintes, ſurtout après que l'Aſſemblée Nationale a accueilli, avec un empreſſement auſſi peu décent que peu politique, les addreſſes de quelques clubs factieux en Angleterre, qui ne diſſimulaient pas leurs intentions de tout boulverſer. Voilà donc, mon cher Maret, où nous en ſommes ! Si vous pouvez engager le conſeil exécutif à revenir ſur ſes pas, relativement aux articles ci-deſſus, la guerre n'aura point lieu ; il faut convenir que l'Angleterre ne peut que ſe ſentir compriſe dans les décrets qui offrent ce que vous appellez fraternité à tous les peuples du monde ; il eſt evident auſſi que notre exiſtence politique ne permettra nullement que la France s'aggrandiſſe, & vous ne pouvez nier que le traité de 1788 nous oblige à garantir la fermeture de l'Eſcaut, & que vous y êtes tenu par le traité de 1786. Il eſt auſſi vrai que pendant qu'un traité exiſte on doit le reſpecter.

Répondez le plutôt poſſible à ma lettre, je vous en ſupplie, & de vive voix, ſi vous le voulez, ce qui me plaira infiniment ; ne craignez rien

rien de la nouvelle loi ; je puis vous assurer que les étrangeres peuvent voyager aussi librement en Angleterre à present qu'autrefois. Mais point d'intrigues ; point de commerce avec des factieux qui puisse compromettre la tranquillité publique. Je vous crois trop honnête pour vous en mêler ; d'ailleurs j'espère que vous serez chargé d'une branche d'olivier, & en ce cas vous serez reçu à bras ouverts. Venez donc sans crainte ; descendez chez moi & considerez ma maison comme la votre. Adieu.

" MILES."

A M. Maret, Chef du Département pour les Affaires Etrangères, à Paris.

TRANSLATION.

London, Jan. 11, 1793.

" THE dispatch sent off by M. Chauvelin, on Monday, 31st of December, must certainly have reached you ; but you have not acknowledged its arrival. You tell me of the ardour of the French, and of their immense resources. Alas! my dear Maret, it is no longer a question of either. After the grievances which are explained in Lord Grenville's answer to M. Chauvelin's note,

note, what other alternative has France but to retract or to fight? I know of none. You will perhaps tell me, that what has been required is too humiliating; but excuse me, my dear friend, it is not *pride* but justice that you must consult.

"I begged you to observe to Le Brun, how much more glorious it would be to France to consent to a general peace, after having given freedom to the Low Countries, and to Liege, than to continue a war, of which it is impossible to foresee the consequences, and which will endanger the newly acquired liberties of Belgia and Liege, as well as the new order of things in France. The executive power will have the merit of strengthening the French Revolution, and leisure to re-establish the finances, to wind up the machinery of government, and to re-establish commerce, which is almost annihilated. The public tranquillity will be ensured by peace, as well as the fortune and fame of those who are entrusted with the destiny of France; and nothing is required for this but what justice dictates. If the National Assembly, in a moment of intoxication, commits injuries or blunders, it is but fair she should repair the one and correct the other. Allow me to repeat to you what you have already perused in Lord Grenville's answer: that the orders given to your general officers to pursue the enemy on neutral ground, is an attack

tack on the independence of thoſe powers with whom you are not at war.

" The decree of the Council on the opening of the Scheldt, is an infringement of treaty.

" The appropriation of Savoy is contrary to your own principles. You have renounced all conqueſts, and you make them. What confidence can be placed in a nation, who neither reſpects treaties nor oaths?

" The decree of the 19th of November, and that of the 15th of December, being conceived in general terms, and inviting, in a manner, every nation in the world to revolt, with a promiſe of ſupport, are grievances too ſerious not to enrage the Britiſh Government, and juſtify its fears. Above all, when the Conventional Aſſembly has received, with an avidity as indecent as it was impolitic, the addreſs of ſome factious clubs in England, who do not conceal their intention of overturning every thing. Here then, my dear Maret, the matter reſts:—if you can engage the Executive Council to retract, as far as relates to the above articles, the war cannot take place. You muſt allow that England cannot but conſider itſelf included in the decree which offers what you call fraternity to all the people in the world. It is alſo very evident that our political exiſtence will

by

by no means allow of France being aggrandized, and you cannot deny that the treaty of 1788 obliges us to ſecure the Scheldt, and that you are bound to this by the treaty of 1786. It is equally true, that as long as a treaty exiſts, it ought to be reſpected.

" Anſwer my letter, I beſeech you, as ſoon as poſſible; and if in perſon it will pleaſe me the more. Fear nothing from the new law. I can venture to aſſure you that ſtrangers may travel as freely in England as formerly; but no intrigues, no connection with thoſe who may wiſh to deſtroy the public tranquillity. I believe you to be too honeſt a man to interfere in ſuch buſineſs; beſides, I indulge the hope of ſeeing you with an olive branch, and in this caſe you will be received with open arms. Come then without fear, and conſider my houſe as your own. Adieu.

" WM. MILES."

To M. Maret, Chief of the Department of Foreign Affairs, at Paris.

APPENDIX, No. XI.

18 *Jan.* 1793.

" A Monsieur Le Brun,

" UN evenement m'eſt arrivé qui m'ote à jamais la douce eſpérance d'être utile à la choſe publique, j'aurais voulu écarter la guerre, ce terrible fléau du genre humain, mais enflé d'un orgueil très deplacé vous n'ecoutez ni la prudence ni la juſtice. Je me trouve tracaſſé, & eſtropié de tout côté & de toute maniére. Je n'en puis plus, il y a bien des années que vous connoiſſez mes principes ;—mes marches ont été dicté juſqu'à preſent par l'amour de la verité et de la liberté ; non pas d'une liberté effrenée et ſans bornes comme la vôtre, mais d'une liberté bien entendue, bien raiſonnée, et qui rend le monde un paradis terreſtre ; —mais que faire? L'enthouſiaſme vous aveugle, et vous ne voyez plus ni la juſtice, ni la prudence. Quand il étoit queſtion du traité de commerce, j'exprimai mes vœux dans une lettre addreſſée à Mr. Pitt que ce traité puiſſe devenir la baſe d'une alliance entre les deux nations qui aſſureroit à l'Europe & au monde entier, la douce jouiſſance d'une paix eternelle. Mais au lieu de la paix, c'eſt la guerre

que je vois prêt à s'eclater & engloutir les deux nations. Le Brun ;—vous allez vous charger d'une terrible reſponſabilité ! Songez y bien, il eſt encore tems ; vous pouvez tout reparer, j'ai le cœur gros, & obſédé par des idées triſtes & lugubres, la vie commence à me pêſer furieuſement.

" Adieu,

" W. MILES."

This letter finiſhes my correſpondence with Le Brun, and was ſent by a courier diſpatched from Portman Square.

TRANSLATION.

" AN event has lately happened which deprives me of the pleaſing hope of being uſeful to the cauſe of humanity. I wiſh to prevent the war, that dreadful ſcourge to human nature ; but an ill-fated vanity prevents your attending either to prudence or to juſtice. I find myſelf thwarted and haraſſed on all ſides. I am tired. You have long known my principles, and my conduct has ever been dictated by the love of truth and liberty : not by ſuch an extravagant and boundleſs liberty as your's, but by a liberty well underſtood and well conducted, and which makes this world

world a terreſtrial paradiſe. What is to be done? Enthuſiaſm blinds you, and you are equally inſenſible to prudence and to juſtice. *

" When

* Aſſurances that I received at this time from Paris, convinced me that the great object of the executive council was to throw this country into inſurrection, and that the exploſion was expected to happen firſt in Ireland. The projected invaſion of Holland, preceded by the opening of the Scheldt, as a preparatory ſtep to the fall of Amſterdam, were meaſures that would not have been attempted, but for the firm perſuaſion that the people in England were on the eve of revolt, and a revolution would inevitably happen the very inſtant, if not ſooner, that war was declared. The entire conduct of the Convention, and of its executive council, the efforts of private individuals, all tended to this ſolitary but important object.—An inſurrection in England was fully believed would happen, and it was under this deluſion that the decree promiſing fraternity, and ordering the French generals to give aſſiſtance to all nations diſpoſed to revolt, was paſſed.—The writings of Condorcet were addreſſed to the Dutch, to the Engliſh, and the Spaniards, in ſeparate pamphlets, and recommended them reſpectively the example of France, the Preſident of the National Convention (Gregoire I believe it was) in anſwer to an addreſs taken over from this country, aſſured the bearers of it, that " *The moment, without doubt, approaches in which the French will bring congratulations to the National Convention of Great Britain.*" This was on the twenty-eighth of November 1792, and the very date, as well as the language of this anſwer proves, that the French conſidered a revolution in England as certain. The addreſs from this country deſerves neither reproof nor notice. But the attention paid to it by the French legiſlature deſerves both, and proves the duplicity of a government that was endeavouring to accom-

" When the Commercial Treaty was in agitation, I expreſſed my wiſh in a letter to Mr. Pitt, that it might become the baſis of an alliance between

pliſh our deſtruction by the foulest means, at the inſtant it was expreſſing a deſire to live in peace with us; their object was not hoſtility at the moment, becauſe they counted upon a civil war which would anſwer their purpoſe moſt completely, and ſecure them from the riſk and expence of an open rupture.—The inflammatory harangue of Monſ. Gregoire was followed by ſtill more inflammatory decrees, evidently levelled at this country (the decree of the 19th of November and 15th of December) in order to ſtimulate the diſaffected to declare themſelves, and to tell them who their *allies* would be. On the 10th of January following Monſ. Briſſot announced publicly that France muſt declare war.—Mr. Paine had previouſly declared that ſhe would not be ſafe until ſhe was ſurrounded by revolutions; and conformable to this principle, Monſ. Briſſot reported as follows to the National Convention; and when it was imagined in France that the people were ſufficiently inflamed and ripe for revolt in England, Monſ. Le Brun went to the National Convention with the declaration of war, that was to give *full effect* to all that had been tranſacting for months, and without which it was thought the inſurrection would not happen.

" Il importe que la nation Anglaiſe, qui n'eſt qu'égarée par ſon gouvernement ſoit promptement déſabuſée. C'eſt par reſpect pour LA FRATERNITE, QUI NOUS UNIT, que nous devons lui peindre avec franchiſe, les manœuvres de ſon gouvernement."

" It is neceſſary that the Engliſh nation, which is only miſled by its government, ſhould be inſtantly undeceived. The reſpect which is due to the FRATERNITY THAT UNITES US

requir

tween the two nations, that had it in their power to enſure an eternal peace to Europe and the world. But inſtead of peace, I ſee a war on the point of being

requires that we ſhould frankly diſcloſe to it the manœuvres of its government."

Briſſot's Report to the National Convention, Jan. 12, 1793.

This note brings a ſeries of very important events into a very ſmall compaſs, and theſe events prove that the intentions of France were evidently hoſtile, and a hoſtility of the very worſt kind; for it was meant to make us war on each other in the firſt inſtance, and in the ſecond with her.

Theſe manœuvres ſhew the neceſſity of keeping the people in good humour with its government. The doctrines of revolt became articles of faith in Brabant and in Holland, becauſe the Dutch and Flemings were diſſatisfied with their reſpective governments.—The people in this country are certainly ſecure from any act of deſpotiſm in the crown; but they are not ſufficiently ſecure from the arbitrary exactions, and fraudulent practices of commercial enterpriſe. A monopoly of corn almoſt excited an inſurrection throughout the country laſt year; an infamous combination between graziers and foreſtallers may poſſibly endanger the public tranquillity, by placing animal food beyond the reach of the artiſan, as well as of the day labourer, and by rendering beef and mutton articles of luxury even to the middle ranks.—An advance of twopence a pound in two years on butcher's meat, is an alarming increaſe, and would make Miniſters tremble if they looked forward to the conſequences. Men in high official ſituations, who have a monopoly of lucrative places, ſome of them ſinecures, and thoſe that are not, moſt liberally appointed, do not feel this preſſure, and may perhaps attribute theſe remarks to diſaffection, but it is to prevent

being declared which will ſwallow up both nations. Le Brun! you will become reſponſible

vent diſaffection that they are made; and it is even more their intereſt, than it is their duty to attend to them.

Some of the newſpapers, who are known to ſell themſelves to any bidder, and for any purpoſe, were abandoned enough laſt harveſt to ſay it was very deficient, and to maintain that there was a ſcarcity of corn in the country. The contrary is known to be the fact, and it is a fact of that nature of which no miniſter can plead ignorance, without acknowledging he either wants capacity or vigilance. An infamous combination is again in force to advance the price of bread; and it is not the poor and pitiful expedient of renouncing penny tarts and cheeſecakes, that will ſatisfy mens' minds if government allows to the worſt and moſt inhuman of all extortions the full career which the turpitude of avarice would give it.

The neceſſaries of life are at a price that can with difficulty be paid by thoſe who are in middling circumſtances, and it is wiſdom, as well as juſtice, to keep this deſcription of people in good humour. Oppreſſed by theſe combinations, which take from them the immediate neceſſaries of life, they find theſe oppreſſions aggravated by the painful operation of taxes, the diſaſters of war, and the proud diſplay of unfeeling, incorrigible profligacy, that inſults the diſtreſſes of the country, while it is fed, cloathed, and ſupported by its bounty! All theſe tend moſt powerfully to anger men's minds, even of thoſe whoſe loyalty is the pureſt, and cannot be queſtioned; and it does more; a conduct ſo indiſcreet, not to ſay atrocious, has made it a queſtion even among the moſt temperate men in the kingdom, whether royalty, thus diſhonoured, can be worthy of a throne; while the people, with one accord, execrate the infatuated object, ſelf-baniſhed from the metropolis, whoſe guilt and depravity were alone neceſſary to complete the full meaſure of national calamity.

ſible for all its horrors! reflect upon it, I beſeech you; it is yet time, you can yet repair all. My heart is full, and oppreſſed by dark and melancholy ideas. Life begins to be burthenſome.

"Adieu,

"W. MILES."

Cleveland Row, Jan. 18, 1793.

To M. Le BRUN,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,
at Paris.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. XII.

London, Feb. 4, 1796.

"I HAVE received your different letters as far as No. 8, and while I acknowledge your perſonal kindneſs, lament that you ſhould feel ſo inveterate a prejudice againſt the Britiſh government, and attribute to the intrigues of the Engliſh cabinet the war in which you are engaged. It is incumbent on me to undeceive you in another very important matter.

"I have perceived, in the three laſt letters that you have ſent me, a conviction on your part that I have ſpoken to you on the ſubject of peace *at ſecond hand*, and that I am merely an inſtrument of the Miniſter to ſound the intentions of the French Convention. I confeſs to you very candidly, that on an occaſion ſo glorious as well as conſolatory, I would have no objection to be the inſtrument of men in office. Peace is an object ſo eſtimable in my opinion, that I would make every ſacrifice that a man of honour can make to obtain it. An

* The confidential ſituation which this perſon has held during the whole of the terrible tempeſts which have raged in his country ſince the war, is one of my motives for not publiſhing his name. The whole of his correſpondence with me does equal honour to his head and heart; and his conduct has been in uniſon with his profeſſions.

agency

agency, therefore, of that deſcription, I would neither refuſe nor deny. It is, however, a juſtice that is due to your country and to mine, as well as to thoſe who are entruſted with the public adminiſtration of affairs in England, to declare that they are totally ignorant of this correſpondence, and that I do not even wiſh they ſhould be informed of my efforts—for I ſeek no reward for acting right.

"The ſuggeſtions that I have occaſionally communicated to you, are certainly my own, and conſcious of the purity of my motives, I have ventured to tranſmit them, notwithſtanding the correſpondence, and the matter on which we have correſponded, would probably give offence, if my letters were to be intercepted, and ſhould fall under the inſpection of your Miniſters.

"I am averſe to war, from a conviction that wars engender and multiply crimes. The ſhedding of any blood is a matter that always gives me infinite pain, and never fails to plunge me into a variety of abſtract metaphyſical ſpeculations that damp the enjoyments of life, and make me wiſh I had never been, rather than that I am.—Any animal in pain afflicts me, and the affliction is conſequently the greater in proportion as the connection with that animal is nearer to me. I never behold a flock of ſheep, driven to ſlaugh-

ter, but a million of ſorrowful reflections occur to my penſive, and too inquiſitive mind.—To behold the hapleſs victim under the gripe of his aſſaſſin, bound, bleeding, and expiring, unlamented in the preſence of an unfeeling crowd, plunges me into grief, and wrings my very ſoul.

"Such are the ſentiments which I have profeſſed from my very infancy, and with ſuch ſentiments it is not extraordinary that I ſhould have expreſſed myſelf with ſo much horror and indignation at the execrable murders which have been committed in France, and that I have declaimed againſt with all the vehemence that belongs to a mind naturally ardent, againſt the herd of aſſaſſins that have ruined your country for half a century, and diſhonoured it for ever!

"I know that many of thoſe who have fallen, had rendered themſelves obnoxious as well as dangerous, and that the crimes which have marked France for theſe four years, are eaſier accounted for, than juſtified: but vice in any form, under any pretext, and from any quarter, vexes me; and I am apt to be warm when I feel that I am right.

I have touched upon two points, which it was incumbent on me to be explicit upon, leſt you ſhould attribute my pacific diſpoſition to Miniſters,

ſters, with whoſe diſpoſition I am, at preſent, entirely unacquainted, and without whoſe privity I have written to you with ſo much ſolicitude in order to ſtop, if poſſible, the effuſion of blood.

" By the ſecond you will perceive my motives for the intemperance with which I have ſpoken of Le Brun and others, whoſe irregular ambition or vengeance have deluged an immenſe tract of country with blood.—Do not ſuppoſe, however, that I am partial to the vices of other nations, and ſevere only to thoſe of France. The book I gave you, entitled " *Reflections on public Men and public Meaſures*," * ſhould convince you how very independent I am in my mind, and that writing from conviction, I reſpect nothing but the truth.

" Your letters of late have not contributed to exalt my ſpirits, or enabled me to look forward with either hope or confidence to a ſpeedy iſſue to this fierce, relentleſs war, which you ſay muſt be a war of death. The hope of peace then is baniſhed, every ſuch hope would now be viſionary! All correſpondence therefore, on a ſubject which I have had ſo much at heart, is at an end.--I ſhall

* Written at Aſchaffenburg, while on a viſit to the Elector of Mayence, in October 1789, and publiſhed by John Stockdale, Piccadilly; in which an alliance with France was ſtrongly recommended at that time, and the independence of the Low Countries.

of courſe cloſe it. The humble rank which I hold in my country, will not allow my voice to be heard, and the abſolute impoſſibility of being ever able to accompliſh my object, is a diſcouraging reflection that reduces me to ſilence, and almoſt to deſpair.

All that I requeſt of you is,* that if you ſhould ſurvive the tempeſt, you will do juſtice to my ſentiments, and bear teſtimony to my unremitting, but unſucceſsful efforts, to prevent the war that has unhappily enſued between our reſpective countries.

" Adieu,

" W. MILES."

* In one of the laſt letters which I received from this invaluable correſpondent, was the following extract, and ſubſequent events have abundantly proved that he reaſoned like an able ſtateſman, who had clear and diſtinct ideas of things, and who was well acquainted with the force and reſources of his country; " *Non Monſieur, on ne calcule pas aſſez* (the coaleſced powers) *ce que peuvent des millions d'hommes armés, dont le courage eſt echauffé par un enthouſiaſme qui double la force et centuple les bras; on peut vaincre la France, mais on ne peut la ſubjuguer.*" " No, Sir! The coaleſced powers have not ſufficiently reflected on what millions of armed men can accompliſh, whoſe courage, fired by enthuſiaſm, doubles the force and multiplies each arm a hundred fold. They may conquer France, but they cannot ſubjugate her."

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. XIII.

Cleveland-row, Feb. 11, 1793.

"SIR,

"AS the dye is caſt, and the French, no longer able to impoſe on the good ſenſe of the nation, have declared that hoſtility againſt our country which they have long premeditated, but which they meant ſhould be a contingent event, and to follow thoſe internal commotions which they expected to excite in different parts of the kingdom; I have taken the liberty of ſuggeſting to you the propriety of a ſubſcription for the purpoſe of affording a relief to the widows and orphans of ſeamen and ſoldiers who may fall in the defence of their country. Such a meaſure may operate as a ſtimulus to the former, and render the dangerous expedient of preſs-warrants unneceſſary. It may alſo counteract the arts of the enemy, who will practiſe every poſſible method to ſeduce our ſeamen into their ſervice. Should this idea be adopted, I have no doubt, from the loyalty of the times, but it will produce a fund adequate to a very comfortable proviſion for thoſe who may become objects of the intended charity.

"Should

"Should you coincide with me in opinion, I ſhall beg leave to ſubſcribe twenty guineas."

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"W. MILES."

To William Devaynes, Eſq. &c. &c.
Dover-ſtreet.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, XIV.

Fragment d'un Lettre à Mr. MILES, *ſur la conduit du Clergé.*

Paris, le 20 d'Aout, 1791.

——— " BIEN des gens prétendent que *le vrai* motif de la réſiſtance du clergé, ſur tout du haut clergé, à l'éſtabliſſement du nouveau code eccleſiaſtique a été la conſervation de ſes privileges, des ſes richeſſes et de ſon influence politique, mais pour peu qu'on ait de charité chrêtienne on n'admettra pas une imputation ſi injurieuſe à un corps auſſi *vertueux* et auſſi *éclairé* que le clergé de France! Eſt il juſte en effet de lui attribuer des motifs qu'il n'a jamais avoués, tandiſque ſes véritables raiſons ſont ſi bien développées non ſeulement dans les diſcours éloquents de l'Abbé Maury, mais encore dans les mandements de pluſieurs eveques ſur tout dans celui du pieux évêque du Boulogne qui a été répandu dans toutes les provinces avec le zèle et la profuſion que méritoit une cauſe ſi ſainte? Comme vous n'étes peut-être pas à porter de vous procurer ſes differents ouvrages, ji tâcherai de vous donner une idée ſuccinct et de leurs arguments victorieux contre le nouvel ordre qu'on

qu'on vouloit introduire. Par cet ordre les habitants des paroiſſes devoient choiſir leur curés; comme ſi c'étoit aux brebis à choiſir le berger qui doit les conduire, les nourrer, les tondre et les engraiſſer pour la table de ſon máitre; comme ſi *des ſimples fideles* étoient capables de juger des mœurs, de la vertu et des talents de leur paſture; et comme ſi les evêques ſeuls n'étoient pas competents pour juger ſi la doctrine d'un homme étoit orthodoxe ou non. Voilà le premier point auquel ils ont un raiſon de s'oppoſer.

" 2d. Le Conſeil de l'Evêque devoit être compoſé de prêtres à l'avis deſquels il devoit ſe conformer dans l'adminiſtration de ſon dioceſe. C'étoit évidemment mettre l'Evêque *audeſſous* des prêtres, contre la déciſion du concile du Trente, qui a déclaré comme article de foi que les evêques ſont *audeſſus* des prêtres, et a prononcé *anathema* contre Calvin et ſes ſectateurs qui ſoutenoient le contraire. Vous voyez bien qu'en *conſcience* on ne pouvoit pas ſe ſoumettre à un réglement auſſi contraire à la foi qui celui la.

Un troiſieme arrangement au quel ils pouvoient encore moins ſe ſoumettre qu'aux deux précédents; c'eſt, que les prétendus philoſophes compoſant l'Aſſemblée Nationale ſous pretexte de mettre plus d'uniformité et de ſimplicité dans le gouvernement et de faire marcher enſemble et d'accord

l'adminiſtration civile et eccleſiaſtique avoient pris ſur eux, ſans le conſentement du Pape, de réduire le nombre des evêchés et de donner aux nouveaux dioceſes les mêmes limites qu'aux departements. Tout *bon chatelain ſoumis à l'Egiſe* conviendra que c'étoit là un attentat criminel contre l'autorité ſpirituelle, qui doit être à légard de l'autorité temporelle ce que l'ame eſt au corps; c'eſt à dire, que comme le corps doit toujours être ſoumis à l'eſprit dont il doit recevoir la loi, de même l'autorité temporelle doit être gouvernée par le pouvoir ſpirituel vener du ciel exprès pour cela. Pour s'oppoſer comme ils le devoient à cette innovation, nos vertueux prélats ont dit aux peuple, que l'Evêque ou le curé qui ſorteroit des bornes fixées par le pape à leurs dioceſes ou de leurs paroiſſes pour exercer leurs fonctions ailleurs, étoient des *intrus*, des *uſurpateurs*, des *ſchiſmatique*, que les mariages qu'ils béniroient ſeroient des concubinages, que leurs ſacrements ſeroient des ſacrileges, que les baptêmes qu'ils adminiſtreront ſeroient des *pactes avec le diable*, que leur extreme onction ſervoit un paſſeport pour aller en enfer; que ceux qui entendroient leurs meſſes ſeroient damnés, que ceux qui iroient leur confeſſer leurs péchés ſeroient un plus grand peché que tous ceux dont ils pouvoient d'ailleurs être coupables; en un mot que tous ceux qui communiqueroient avec eux étoient excommuniés, chaſſés de l'egliſe et perdus dans ce monde et dans l'autre. Des arguments de cette force ne pou-

voient manquer de produire de bons effets et dans la Vendée et ailleurs ; malheureuſement pour la cauſe du throne et de l'autel il s'eſt trouvé quelques membres, ſur tout du *bas* clergé qui ſe ſont crus en droit d'avoir une opinion à eux en matiére de réligion et qui n'ont pas réglé leurs conſciences d'apres celles des evêques, leurs guides légitimes. Sans la défection de ces malheureux apoſtats, l'inſurrection eut été générale, et l'egliſe ſe ſeroit maintenue dans toute ſa ſplendeur !

Translation.

A Fragment of a Letter to Mr. Miles, *on the Conduct of the French Clergy.*

Paris, Auguſt 20, 1792.

——" MANY people pretend that the *real* motive of the reſiſtance of the clergy, and particularly of the dignified clergy, to the eſtabliſhment of a new eccleſiaſtical code, was the preſervation of their privileges, of their riches, and of their political influence ; but thoſe who poſſeſs Chriſtian charity will not admit of an imputation ſo injurious to a body of men ſo reſpectable and enlightened as the French clergy. Is it in fact juſt to attribute to them motives that they have never acknowledged, while their true reaſons have been ſo clearly

clearly explained, not only in the eloquent discourses of the Abbé Maury, but also in the mandates of many Bishops, and particularly in one of the pious Bishop of Boulogne, which was circulated throughout all the provinces with that zeal and profusion so holy a cause deserved. As you, perhaps, may not have it in your power to procure the above mentioned works, I will endeavour to give you a concise idea of the unanswerable arguments they contain against the new order that they wished to introduce. By this order the parishioners were to chuse their curate, as if the sheep were to chuse the shepherd, whose duty it is to guide, feed, tender, and fatten them for the table of his master. As if the *pious brethren* were capable of judging of the morals, the virtue, and the talents of their pastor, and as if the Bishops alone were not competent to judge if the doctrine was orthodox or not; this is the first point they had a right to oppose themselves to.

"2d. The council of the Bishop ought to be composed of priests, to whose opinions he ought to conform in the administration of his diocese; this was evidently placing the Bishop *below* the Priests against the decision of the Council of Trent, which declares as an article of faith, that the Bishops are *higher* than the Priests, and which has pronounced an *anathema* against Calvin and his sect, for supporting a contrary opinion. You will allow that they

could not in *conſcience* ſubmit to a rule ſo contrary to the *true* faith.

" A third arrangement to which they could ſtill leſs conform than to the two preceding, is that the pretended philoſophers who compoſe the National Aſſembly, under pretence of putting more uniformity and ſimplicity in the government, and in order to unite the civil and eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration have taken it upon themſelves without the conſent of the Pope, to reduce the number of biſhoprics, and to aſcertain the limits to the different dioceſes, as they have done to the departments. All good Chriſtians, obedient to the church will acknowledge, that this was a criminal attack againſt ſpiritual authority, which compared to temporal authority, ought to be conſidered in the ſame light as the ſoul is to the body, that is to ſay, that as the body muſt always ſubmit to the mind from which it receives the law, ſo ought the temporal authority to be governed by the ſpiritual power which is expreſſly received from heaven for that purpoſe. To oppoſe themſelves as they ought againſt this innovation our virtuous prelates declared to the people, that the Biſhop or the Curate who would go out of thoſe bounds fixed to their dioceſe or their pariſh by the Pope, to exerciſe their functions elſewhere, were intruders, uſurpers, ſchiſmatics, that the marriages they performed would only be fornications, that their ſacraments would

would be ſacrileges, that the baptiſms they adminiſtered would only be a compact with the devil, that their extreme unction would be a paſſport to hell, that thoſe who heard their maſs would be damned, that thoſe who confeſſed their ſins to them would commit a greater ſin than any they could poſſibly be guilty of. In a word, that thoſe who had any communication with them would be excommunicated, driven from the church, and loſt in this world and in the next. Such arguments as theſe could not fail of being attended with ſucceſs in La Vendée and elſewhere. Unfortunately for the cauſe of the throne and the altar, ſome members, and particularly of the *low* clergy, have created for themſelves the right of having an opinion of their own in matters of religion, without regulating their conſciences by thoſe of their Biſhops, who are their lawful directors. Had it not been for the *diſaffection* of theſe unfortunate apoſtates, the inſurrection would have been general, and the church would have preſerved all its ſplendor."

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. XV.

I CANNOT, without better evidence of the fact, believe that Mr. Pitt is an enemy to the conſtitution: the two bills brought into Parliament, which have given ſuch general offence, and on which his adverſaries have been enabled to take ſtrong ground, are certainly an infraction of the conſtitution, which the motive and the occaſion could alone juſtify. If the offenſive meaſure had been to anſwer any other purpoſe than that of the moment, merely as an expedient in the hour of very imminent danger as it was imagined, in order to avert a great and ſerious calamity, the Miniſter who propoſed it would have deſerved to have been conducted from the Houſe of Commons to Tower-hill, and left ſhorter by the head for his preſumption. This is the only plea upon which the law in queſtion can be defended; I am perſuaded that it is the only plea Mr. Pitt would urge in his defence, were he put upon his trial; and I am ſatisfied, that acting as he did, under the impreſſion of the moment, that the well-informed and moſt temperate of the London Correſponding Society would abſolve him from any criminal deſign againſt the conſtitution, however much they may arraign his diſcretion, or queſtion the neceſſity for

ſo harſh a meaſure. No one could have reprobated it more ſeverely than I have done. Every man in this country has a right to exclaim, *nolumus leges Angliæ mutari!* it is the motto of the great family of England, and every Engliſhman is bound by duty, by intereſt, and by honour, to bear it on his banner, and wear it in his heart: I feel aſſured that it was in conformity with this principle, that Mr. Pitt acted when he propoſed the unpopular bill. I feel aſſured that his intention was to preſerve, not to deſtroy, the conſtitution by that meaſure; and that the blackeſt guilt, for the fouleſt purpoſe, could alone have attributed it to any other deſign. Men are accuſtomed to view all objects in a very different light from each other, and if it is meant to take the dimenſions, or have an accurate idea of the figure of any object, it is not the ſide that preſents itſelf firſt to the ſight, that is alone to decide our judgment. Mr. Pitt, as a Miniſter, ſtands in a very different predicament to all other men; he is inveſted with a truſt of a very high and ſolemn nature; it is no leſs than the comfort, ſecurity, and complicated intereſts of an entire people, and theſe intereſts perpetually claſhing diſcordant and dangerous notes. A new ſet of opinions are afloat in the world, and theſe opinions, ſome of them very juſt, others of them wild and impracticable, and ſome altogether as atrocious are at warfare with old opinions, and long-eſtabliſhed prejudices. If the dark ages of ignorance are fit ſeaſons for impoſtors,

poſtors, times of public tumult are no leſs ſo, and without recurring to French hiſtory, we may find within the ſea-girt ſhore of Britain, men of that deſcription, who without fortune or honeſt induſtry, hope to find a lucrative harveſt in civil broil, and will labour for that purpoſe whenever the occaſion offers. The London Correſponding Society have too great a reſpect for truth not to acknowledge that ſuch men have inſinuated themſelves into their company, and that they have purpoſes in view very different from what the Society avows. Theſe men have held tenets in debating ſocieties and at public meetings incompatible with the exiſtence not only of this government, but of all government, and which tenets would be more miſchievous in the event to thoſe who liſtened to them, than to thoſe againſt whom they were principally levelled; it was under theſe circumſtances; it was under the apprehenſion of being involved in civil as well as foreign conteſt, that Mr. Pitt, preſſed by the magnitude and proximity of the danger which he dreaded, came forward and encroached upon one part of the conſtitution, in order to preſerve the whole. Such is the impreſſion under which the Miniſter appears to me to have acted, and ſuch the light in which his conduct will appear to thoſe who diſpaſſionately combine all the extraordinary circumſtances of the caſe, and conſidering them in this view together, they may, perhaps, think that the meaſure he adopted was the beſt he could have choſen. I very much doubt,

doubt, and it is a queſtion worthy of his prudence, to conſider whether it is at all times good policy to combat extremes by extremes. It is alſo a queſtion worthy of his wiſdom, and no leſs ſo of his patriotiſm, to inquire, how far it will conduce to the preſervation of the conſtitution, to reſiſt the equitable and well-founded claims of the people, to that judicious and temperate reform which he promiſed to procure, and which he is bound in honour to obtain? It is perhaps the moſt effectual way to ſuppreſs thoſe clubs and meetings which have ſpread ſuch general alarm throughout the country; it will at all events take away from bad men, all pretext for clamour; and while it fortifies the good, infuſes a century of new life into the conſtitution. When theſe meetings were deprived of their legality, and when Miniſters and both Houſes of Parliament pronounced them to be dangerous to the ſtate, it was incumbent on Miniſters and on Parliament, to have inquired how far the abuſes of which thoſe meetings complained were founded in truth; how far they were oppreſſive in their operation, and finally, whether the people had a right to complain? If, on inquiry, it appeared that theſe abuſes had an exiſtence;---that their operation was painful, and that the people were entitled to redreſs, the wiſer meaſure would have been to have removed the grievances. It was a line of conduct which was no leſs due to diſcretion than to juſtice.

Force may, for the moment, ſtifle complaint, but never can ſubdue it; on the contrary it acquires ſtrength from time, and vigour from age; and, finally, ſpeaks with moſt miraculous organ, for it reverſes the condition of ſubject and of ſovereign, and teaches government the virtue of ſubmiſſion.—To what extent that reform, and the retrenchments expected are to be carried, are not for me to diſcuſs; all I contend for is, that the reform had better take place *within doors* than *without*. I do not mean a rapid reform, a tearing up by root and branch, roſes and weeds promiſcuouſly, and without reſerve; but that ſober gradual reform which gives force, vigour, and health, as well as life; and I am the more anxious that this neceſſary reform, which muſt ſooner or later take place, ſhould be accompliſhed by Parliament, from the conviction I feel, that matter of ſuch high import can only be agitated with ſafety and effect in a deliberative aſſembly, legally convened.

I have ever been a friend to parliamentary reform, and what might perhaps have been prejudice in the firſt inſtance, is now conviction, reſulting from obſervation, and a better knowledge of the mode in which public buſineſs in this country is conducted; but though I am a friend to the meaſure of reform, it is my wiſh that it ſhould be temperate and gradual; that it ſhould be accompliſhed within the doors of Parliament, and not out of them.

Main

Main ſtrength can at any period take the heavieſt gate off the hinges, but it requires addreſs to put it on again; a promiſcuous multitude can at all times diſplay the former, but the latter belongs excluſively to a deliberative aſſembly, which combining force with ingenuity, can alone avert the evils of inſurrection and anarchy.

Conſidering as I do, the meaſure of parliamentary reform as one of the means by which a revolution can alone be prevented, it cannot be preſſed too ſtrongly on the mind of every man in the Houſe of Commons who has a ſtake in the country, and who has any well-founded pretenſions to independence and rectitude. If the repreſentatives of the people, inattentive to the temper of the times, and inſenſible at once to their duty, to their intereſts, and to the ſpirit and letter of the conſtitution, ſhould ſpurn this wholeſome ſolitary alternative, and the Miniſter, an accomplice in their guilt and folly, ſhould perſiſt in the fatal error which pride, avarice, and vanity would conſecrate to eternity, it will be found that the power will be ultimately wreſted from Parliament by a ſet of men entirely unknown to us, and whoſe anger in puniſhing the fatal obſtinacy that reſiſted the ſober councils of right and expediency, will extend beyond the ſacrifice of thoſe whom they may ſtigmatiſe as delinquents.

It is to prevent a calamity of this magnitude, that I wiſh the Houſe of Commons to undertake its own reform. The ſyſtem of corruption muſt ceaſe if it is meant to avoid an exploſion. The venality of Parliament is no longer ſuppoſed, or cautiouſly inſinuated; it is notorious; it is become the table-talk alike of the drawing-room and night-cellar; the repreſentatives of the people have the folly and indecency to avow it, and the nation at large reprobates it in language that proves the Houſe of Commons is very much lowered in the public opinion, and very far from being adored as it formerly was, and ought ever to be, as one of the palladiums of Britiſh liberty.

APPEN-

APPENDIX, No. XVI.

To the Marquis of BUCKINGHAM, &c. &c. &c.

14th Dec. 1792.

" MY LORD,

" I HAVE borrowed the incloſed pamphlets on purpoſe that your Lordſhip may peruſe them, after which I ſhall intreat the favour of their being returned. The propoſal which I made to the Duke of Leeds, in January, 1790, and which I alluded to in the letter I had the honour to addreſs to your Lordſhip, was, that the union of Liege with the Auſtrian Netherlands, and the independence of both ſhould be facilitated, acknowledged and guaranteed by this country, Holland, and Pruſſia. The advantages reſulting from this meaſure would have been commercial as well as political—*toutes les entraves que la tête mal organiſée de Joſeph* II. *avait fait mettre ſur le commerce eurent été levées*, and Holland would have had a broad and impenetrable barrier on the ſide of France, while happy to have been emancipated from the odious perfidy and tyranny of the houſe of Auſtria, the Flemings would have ratified the dif-

ferent treaties which condemn the Scheldt to roll its ſlumbering waters diſgracefully to the ſea, and the French would have had no pretence for invading Brabant. The reſult of my conference with his Grace convinced me more than ever, that the ideas of magnitude and futurity, as well as of right and expediency, are neceſſary furniture for every man's mind, to whom the intereſts of a nation are in any degree confided: what I propoſed in 1790, and for which the people whoſe cauſe I pleaded would have been obliged to the Britiſh Miniſtry, is now accompliſhed, not only without their conſent, but abſolutely againſt it; and with this advantage in favour of the former, that what they have acquired cannot be taken from them; for whatever may be the event of the war, I will venture to predict that the power of the houſe of Auſtria in the Netherlands is extinguiſhed for ever; and for this plain and unanſwerable reaſon; that the people will no longer ſubmit to its vexations, or be deceived by its profeſſions!

"The Duke of Leeds ſaid it was going great lengths, but it was eaſy to foreſee at the time, without the gift of preſcience, that the ſpirit of freedom which had burſt forth with ſuch violence in France, would force the French into much greater lengths; and that as a meaſure of prudence, independent of all other conſiderations, it was neceſſary

to

to be before-hand, and anticipate what it might not be in our power afterwards to prevent.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" W. MILES."

The following facts will ſhew what the Emperor loſt, when his folly or madneſs drove his ſubjects in the Netherlands to renounce his juriſdiction.

Maria Thereſa received in ſubſidies, or rather aids from the Low Countries, during the war that ended in 1763, the ſum of ſeventy-five millions of German florins, which at 11 florins to the pound ſterling, amounts to upwards of	ſterling	£6,818,181
The ſums annually tranſmitted to Vienna from the Low Countries, after all the expences of their government were diſcharged (which ſeldom exceeded two millions) amounted to ſix millions of Brabant florins, the produce of the royal domains included - -		461,000

If

If ſovereigns would well reflect on what they hazard, by forcing the people into revolt, it is fair to conclude that they would be more circumſpect at leaſt, if not more juſt.

The avaricious policy of Joſeph II. by eraſing the works of all the fortified towns in the Low Countries, expoſed them to invaſion and depredation, and his greater folly in vexing the clergy, the nobles, and the people, all at the ſame time, indiſpoſed all ranks againſt him, and finally loſt him the Netherlands; yet ſuch was the infatuation of the man, that he imagined he could recover them by force, although the tranſport alone of each cannon that he ſent from Vienna to ſubdue them, coſt ten thouſand Brabant florins, upwards of ſeven hundred pounds ſterling; and when the moſt ordinary defenſive wars in the Low Countries with the people in allegiance, coſt the Court of Vienna annually one million one hundred and eighty-one thouſand pounds ſterling.

APPENDIX, No. XVII.

" THE marked averſion which has been ſhewn towards all thoſe who were concerned in the firſt revolution, or that were well diſpoſed towards it, joined to the very harſh treatment that ſome of them have received, gave an ugly feature to the war, and deprived this country of a reſource which it was folly to have overlooked and criminal to have neglected. Theſe men were branded by *over-loyal* men as rebels, and the whole of the terrible calamities which have ſince enſued, attributed to their revolt in the firſt inſtance. This is the invention of ſuperſtition and tyranny to prop their falling cauſe, and the ſlander muſt be refuted. There are three grand and glorious epochs in Britiſh ſtory, to which the free-born mind always reſorts in triumph. The conceſſion of John to the Barons—Our emancipation from the vile fetters of Popery; and the revolution in 1688, to which the preſent family on the throne owe their elevation. Let us ſuppoſe that our gallant anceſtors on all thoſe occaſions had been as unſucceſsful, or that they had as ill-managed each important enterpriſe, as thoſe, who with equal provocation and equal purity of intention, embarked in a

 ſimilar

ſimilar attempt in France and failed. Would the merit of the enterpriſe have been the leſs; would not the cauſe of fair and rational liberty have remained as pure and as ſacred as ever? Would they, nay could they in juſtice, have been conſidered as the authors of all the horrible exceſſes into which other men, influenced by other motives, and who had uſurped their places, had fatally plunged their country? All theſe epochs were marked by a ſobriety and firmneſs that gave additional luſtre to their cauſe; and is there an Engliſhman, ſo vile a ſlave, ſo loſt to every ſenſe of virtue, and of ſhame, as to dare publicly to avow that the cauſe of our intrepid anceſtors would have been leſs juſt if they had been leſs fortunate? I am ſure that there is not; I am ſure that their honeſt natures would feel indignant at the queſtion, and reſent it as an affront to the proud manes of their anceſtors. Theſe reflections are meant to awaken thoſe, to a more liberal conduct, in whom every departure from right, is charged with a treble portion of infamy.

" It appears that all the courts of Europe have conſpired againſt the hapleſs victims of the firſt revolutions in France, and as far as ſuch a conduct will admit the inference, againſt the general happineſs and freedom of mankind. The royaliſts of 1789 are held in as little eſtimation

at the Britiſh court, as at the court of Vienna,* whoſe maxims and reſentments in matters of this nature, the former will do well to avoid; this is not the language of diſaffection, but of truth, and above all, of that loyalty, which in the hour of danger (pray heaven avert the calamity) may be depended upon. I love my ſovereign, and it is from the love I bear him that I wiſh to ſee his reign happy and glorious, and his life prolonged, till life itſelf ſhall ceaſe to be deſirable.

" The conduct of miniſters towards thoſe gentlemen who eſpouſed the cauſe of the French revolution in the firſt inſtance, independent of its injuſtice, has been extremely impolitic. The party to which they were attached, included all thoſe, who combining a love of liberty, with a love of order, were willing to marſhal themſelves under the ſtandard of royalty. Their attachment was to well-defined, limited monarchy, the

* How ſtrangely ordered are the affairs of this world! Theſe gallant men are every where proſcribed for having ſupported their clear and unalienable claim to what they derive from God, not man, while the Princeſs of Orange, the legitimate ſiſter of the King of Pruſſia, who encouraged revolt in the ſubjects of a ſovereign, her neighbour, with whom ſhe was in friendſhip, and who was certainly competent to preſerve the accuſtomed relations of peace and

the only monarchy that reaſon legitimates, for monarchy without reſponſibility is tyranny. The cauſe of M. de la Fayette and his party, was in fact, the cauſe of every ſovereign in Europe. That party was extremely numerous, and its reſources were great; it was the only party with which wiſdom would have united itſelf, if it

amity, has no ſtigma attached to her conduct by thoſe who reprobate and perſecute La Fayette and the wretched companions of his melancholy fortunes! Vandernoot and Van Eupen were in Brabant what La Fayette and his friends were in France; yet what is their ſad ſtory, and how different is their fate! I will not inquire of fallen greatneſs if any remorſe is felt on finding that perfidy which had been exerciſed towards others, brought finally home to itſelf; but I will aſk the Princeſs of Orange, with what conſiſtency ſhe can reproach the French Convention with having excited a ſpirit of revolt in the Seven Provinces, charged as ſhe is with a ſimilar guilt, aggravated by treachery? At the time that ſhe caballed with the inſurgents in Brabant, and allowed them to aſſemble at Breda, ſhe had a miniſter not only on the ſpot where ſhe was in confederacy with rebellion; but at the court of the Sovereign whom ſhe was endeavouring to deſpoil of his dominions! If the conduct of M. de la Fayette, in endeavouring to ſecure by poſitive written laws, as in thoſe happy kingdoms, liberty to his country is criminal, what ſtigma can we find expreſſive of the double infamy of the Princeſs of Orange? What language ſhall we reſort to for adequate terms of reproach to this deep intriguing dame, who, in a partnerſhip worthy of her abandoned brother, has expoſed the perfidy of courts in ſuch ſtrong blazon, that idolatry itſelf, recovered from deluſion, ſtands aghaſt, aſhamed of its folly!

had

had meant to convert the internal diſtractions of France into the means of ſpeedily terminating the war, as policy certainly dictated; but their aid was ſpurned through the poiſonous influence of their haughty and incorrigible countrymen, awake only to their revenge, and whoſe malignity was augmented by the wild councils of their impoſture of a Meſſiah, whom they fondly believed, was working their redemption, while he was only working diſſenſions in the kingdom, and penſions for himſelf. All the moderate party, forming a vaſt maſs, in France, and out of it; this formidable body of men, diſpoſed to admit of monarchy on the ſame terms as we have done, found themſelves every where ſhunned, reprobated, and reduced to the alternative of becoming republicans or ſlaves, and choſe, as we would have done, I truſt, under ſimilar circumſtances, the former in preference to the latter. But this was not the only evil reſulting from the marked contempt and proſcriptions with which this party was treated. The conduct of miniſters gave a pretext to the ſlander of their enemies, and juſtified, in ſome degree, the report, that the object of the war was to reſtore the ancient ſyſtem, in all its plenitude of guilt. The Duc d'Harcourt, the Biſhop of St. Pol de Leon, and the whole of the French committee, with whoſe views and manœuvres I am not totally unacquainted,

held

held no other language. They diſdained all compromiſe, and played the deſperate game of *tout ou rien*—all or nothing—not with their property but with our's. The countenance given to this deſcription of Frenchmen, who were not leſs indiſcreet in their converſation than extravagant in their pretenſions, expoſed Miniſters to an odium which I hope they do not deſerve. The impracticability, not to ſay the impoſſibility of reſtoring the ancient deſpotiſm in France, at any period ſince the 14th of July 1789, has been as obvious as the iniquity of the meaſure itſelf, and this alone ſhould reſcue Miniſters from the infamy which falſehood would attach to their councils and conduct. In a word, though they cannot in juſtice be charged with crimes, they have been groſsly miſled and deceived, and to an extent, that may preclude the poſſibility of repairing the errors they have committed, unleſs their future councils are marked by more juſtice and diſcretion."

Translation

Of M. Le Brun's *Letter to the Count* De Trauttmansdorff.

" My Lord,

" THERE was a happy time when your immediate influence on the government general of the Low Countries left you every means of having an injuſtice towards us repaired.

" It is not yet a year, it is not even eight months ſince your Excellencey could have aſſured us without obſtacle, and obtained for us without delay, the reſtitution of all we have loſt, for having too warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the late Emperor. If you had done it, my Lord, the ſervice would not have been loſt to your Excellency, we ſhould have at this day the pleaſing ſatisfaction of proving to you that we are not ungrateful.

" We do not mean at preſent to perſuade your Excellency that it would have been the intereſt of the Houſe of Auſtria to have ſatisfied us completely

pletely on this head. If neceſſary, we could give our motives for it, and prove, that if we had been indemnified for our paſt loſſes and future riſks, we ſhould then have been able to employ proper means to determine the fermentation in favour of the ſovereign, in ſpite of the intrigues of both parties. No, this is not the time for diſcuſſing that queſtion, but the time is come to inform you, my Lord, that it is always the intereſt of government, particularly when it is bound to account for its actions to a ſupreme head, not to diſdain the well-founded repreſentations of men of letters, chiefly of thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of the public opinion. The government of the Low Countries has, as your Excellency knows better than any other perſon, violated this political maxim with regard to us. If we were vindictive, the opportunity now offers of being revenged, and we might avail ourſelves of it: but the *gall* of revenge ſhall never diſturb the ſerenity of our minds; this paſſion is beneath us; it is much more pleaſing to be uſeful, and we have always endeavoured to be ſo; *and ſuch is our determination in a very delicate affair which concerns your Excellency, and which ſeriouſly involves other diſtinguiſhed perſons: but as it is full time that we ſhould ſeriouſly think of repairing the breach made in our fortune, there muſt be an accommodation between the perſons concerned and us, in order that we may co-*

operate

operate in rescuing them from certain disgrace.—
—Particularly now for having spoken in favour of Leopold; for having strove to preserve partisans for him, we find ourselves again the victims of our attachment to the House of Austria, and that as our reward our journal is again prohibited, forbidden, and stopped in all the provinces, which, within these two or three months, has occasioned us a loss of from 4 to 500 louis.

"The business which concerns you, my Lord, relative to us is this. A person, whose name you will perhaps guess, but whom we cannot as yet mention, has proposed to us to draw up a memorial in defence of the late General Count d'Alton, and has for that purpose remitted to us papers of the utmost importance. Amongst other things we find in them many original letters, partly from your Excellency, partly from certain other persons attached to interests, which were not altogether those of the sovereign, ministerial dispatches, reports, &c. We will not conceal from you, Sir, that *an able hand* might make a terrible use of this collection, every piece of which bears an incontestable stamp of authenticity. They may serve, not only to justify completely the Count d'Alton, but also to ruin several persons in the public opinion, as well as in that of the King of Hungary,

and to impeach more than one as reſponſible for the actual loſs of the Belgic Provinces.

"It is an eaſy matter to conjecture, from the accounts which we poſſeſs, that you, my Lord, have been hurried on by a junto whoſe plans and object you were not aware of. This junto exiſted before you were appointed miniſter, and the perſon who directed it, a man moſt dexterouſly ambitious, had formed a plan for laying hold of your Excellency on your arrival in the Netherlands: this was the moſt difficult part, he then eaſily continued to direct you; the rock was perhaps unavoidable. Any other but a man bred up from his infancy to the great principles of adminiſtration, to thoſe principles of enlightened philoſophy, which at preſent direct the National Aſſembly of France, would have ſplit on this rock; and if the revolution had not been completed, your Excellency and the general of the army would have been ſacrificed; ſuch was the object. Things having taken a different turn from what was expected, it was not the intereſt of your attendants to commit you, and it was thought eaſier and ſhorter to ſacrifice General d'Alton.——He died, but not ſoon enough for his enemies; for he had time to prepare an avenger, and to deliver into his hands ſome terrible inſtances of court intrigues: happily this man has applied to us for our ſup-

port. *Your intereſt, my Lord, requires that this affair ſhould be entirely quelled, and that at* ANY PRICE *the publication of the memoir, intruſted to us, ſhould be prevented; but you will eaſily underſtand that this end is not to be obtained* WITHOUT EXPENCE.

1. "*Mr. d'Alton's friend muſt be gained over, for he has employed every precaution to prevent being taken unprepared.* He has depoſited an authentic copy of all his papers in Holland; he has another in his own hand; we have one alſo, and the originals are ſoon to be put in a place of ſafety. *But if we are ſupported we can promiſe to gain him over to our views, and to terminate the buſineſs to your ſatisfaction.*

2. "For giving up the advantages which we are ſure to gain by compoſing and publiſhing this memoir, we muſt be *handſomely indemnified.*

We own to you, however, that if we had obtained our indemnification at a proper ſeaſon, we ſhould have bluſhed to put a price on this ſervice; but the injury we have ſuſtained by this tacit refuſal of your Excellency, is incalculable, and we are diſtreſſed. Conſult with yourſelf, my Lord, and conſult the other perſons not leſs intereſted, that nothing ſhould tranſpire, and let us know immediately

mediately your intentions. But in the mean time, as the diſtance at which you are aſunder would leave too long an interval between your mutual anſwers, and that which we expect from your Excellency, we beg you will acknowledge the receipt of this letter by the return of the poſt, and *we promiſe you to ſuſpend the buſineſs until then.* At all events, if M. d'Alton's friend cannot be brought to capitulate, we have other means of ſerving your Excellency, which we will explain to you when neceſſary.

(Signed) "LE BRUN,"

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.